The Unity of the Spirit

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Philadelphia Congress of Religious Liberals

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THE UNITY OF THE SPIRIT

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS OF THE

FIRST CONGRESS

OF THE

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PENN.,

IN THE

MEETING HOUSE OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

APRIL 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1909

EDITED BY

CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS
25 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

INTRODUCTION

I. ORIGIN AND AIMS OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

BY CHAS. W. WENDTE, D. D.

In the closing days of April, 1909, there was held in the city of Philadelphia, in the Race Street Meeting House of the Religious Society of Friends, a three days' conference of the friends of liberal and progressive religion and a fellowship based on character and service, instead of creed or rite.

This Congress of Religious Liberals, as it called itself, was the first public meeting of the National Federation of Religious Liberals, an association formed some months previously (December 3rd, 1908), in the same city and place, by a number of progressive Christians, Reform Jews, Ethical Culturists, and others, eleven different religious fellowships being represented in person or by letter at the meeting.

The organization of this Federation was, in turn, the outgrowth of a previously established and still larger association of free and progressive believers, the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, founded in Boston in the year 1900. This Council, after several large and successful congresses in European cities (London, 1901; Amsterdam, 1903; Geneva, 1905), returning to the country of its inception, held in Boston, in the autumn of 1907, an International Congress of Religious Liberals, at which 16 different nations, 26 different church fellowships, and 93 religious associations were officially or unofficially represented. This Congress, which lasted for five days and enrolled nearly 2,400 paid members, was a notable event in the history of reverent free-thought. It brought the liberal denominations and the liberal elements in nearly all denominations, as well as free and advanced thinkers

outside the churches, into closer affiliation with each other, disclosed to them the beauty and advantage of united counsels and endeavors, and prompted among them a general desire for some form of association which should conserve on American soil the helpful fellowship which this International meeting had made possible. These great international gatherings are held at comparatively long intervals and in different countries. The next one will be convened in Berlin, Germany, August 6th–10th, 1910. The one succeeding that may be welcomed to Paris in 1913. It will be a number of years before this body again assembles in America.

In the meantime there is danger that the large and congenial fellowship which the Boston International Congress brought into existence and the liberal and reconciling influences it radiated through the American community may be imperilled or lost. To prevent this, to unify and concentrate the forces which make for religious sincerity, freedom and progress in the United States, and bring them, from time to time, into council and coöperation concerning the spiritual and ethical interests they hold in common,— this was the purpose of the founders of the National Federation of Religious Liberals.

An extended correspondence with a large number of representative religious liberals throughout the country, conducted by the present writer, who, as secretary of the International Congress since its establishment ten years ago, enjoyed exceptional opportunities for this work, disclosed the conscious need for such a common and unifying center of free and progressive sentiment in the religious life of America. Encouraged by the responses received and adhesions gained, at the kind invitation of members of the Religious Society of Friends in Philadelphia, a meeting for the organization of a national federation of liberal-minded and religious men and women was called, and, as has been stated, after serious conference, the new association was formed. But three articles of organization were adopted. The first concerns its name — The National Federation of Religious Liberals. The second states its purpose —" to promote the religious life by united testimony for sincerity, freedom, and progress in religion, by

social service, and a fellowship of the spirit beyond the lines of sect and creed."

The third article provides that "participation in the Federation will leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations with other religious bodies or schools of thought."

All the other interests of the Federation were committed to an executive committee of twenty-five, whose names will be found elsewhere in this volume, and whose high and widely representative character is an assurance of the wisdom and catholicity with which the affairs of the Association are likely to be conducted.

It is intended to hold, from time to time, in centers of American thought and life, Congresses for the consideration of religious and social questions, especially in their relations to our national welfare. So far as possible these meetings will be held in alternate years with the international gatherings already referred to. These local congresses should be made notable events in the religious life of our country by the freedom, largeness, and weight of their united testimony on great topics of religious, ethical, civic and social import.

The advantages of such an organization for religious fellowship and counsel are many and apparent. Liberal opinions in religion, tolerance and charity in its administration, the demand for sincerity in avowing one's convictions, and the desire for progress in matters of belief as in all else — these are sentiments widely disseminated in the American community. They fail to exert their full and just influence, however, because they are not effectively organized for mutual support and action. The testimony we give on great topics of thought and life gains immeasurably if it be not merely the opinion of an isolated thinker but the expression of a great number of truth-loving and earnest men and women combined for that special purpose. The existing liberal denominations are but few in number and feeble in resources. The rational and progressive believers in the churches called orthodox, or those outside of all churches, may exercise greater or less influence because of their intellectual gifts and moral courage, yet they are the ob-

jects of suspicion and theological rancor, disowned and persecuted, and especially need to be heartened and sustained. The Federation will afford them a larger opportunity for testimony and service to truth, and bring them into congenial fellowship with other like-minded spirits. Endeavors to bring at least the so-called liberal sects into closer relations have mostly failed, nor are they likely to be successful hereafter, unless a common meeting-place for united conference and action outside their present organizations can be found. Such an association should not attempt to duplicate or become a substitute for any of the existing denominations. It should respect their historical and doctrinal differentiation and leave intact their denominational activities. It should strive to strengthen them in their own proper work and bring them into union for the furtherance of the principles and aims they hold in common, thus promoting among them a fellowship of the spirit beyond the lines of sect and creed.

If such a union cannot be formed it will go far to justify the contempt in which the champions of infallible authority and tradition in religion hold liberal believers because of their spiritual impotence. A faith which is not social cannot be meant for society. A religion without vision and virility and self-sacrifice enough to devote itself to the larger good of humanity has no call to lead and no place to fill in our modern world. "Together!" was as true a sentiment on the consecrated lips of a liberal believer like Edward Everett Hale as in the impassioned message which General Booth flashed around the world to inspire his orthodox followers.

Our liberal testimony and service are needed more than ever to-day. A speaker at our late Congress in Philadelphia * uttered a word of warning:

"One of the great dangers in public life is that the great general principles which have actuated the past and become the axioms of conduct may, by their very success, become mere commonplaces, and be lost sight of or disregarded in the strenuous effort to accomplish practical results of apparent immediate importance. Our political principles may become atrophied for want of question and discussion. The great principles of religious free-

* See Address of Justice Swayze, p. 197 of the present volume.

dom and political liberty which occupied the attention of the seventeenth and eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are in danger of being forgotten for want of the debate which attended their establishment. They arose out of the fierce heat of political conflict; they may perish because it is no longer necessary to struggle in their behalf. Citizens of foreign birth often seem to have a better knowledge and a greater appreciation of the fundamental principles of our government than many native born Americans who take their inheritance as a matter of course without stopping to consider its value."

It will be a proper function of this Federation to recall attention to these fundamental guarantees of our civil and religious liberties in state and church, in school and home, to explain more fully their nature and purpose, and to apprise our people of the dangers resultant from ignorance and apathy on this subject. The very next public meeting of our Association, it is now hoped, may deal thoroughly and juridically with this topic.

Furthermore this Federation will accomplish an important work if it disabuses the public mind of the prevalent and mistaken notion that liberality in religion means simply negation and destruction on the one hand or indifference on the other. There was, indeed, an era in the development of religious freedom in this country when its endeavors were chiefly, and perhaps necessarily, antagonistic and destructive. There was an excuse for this, and in some remote communities among us, densely ignorant and prejudiced, that excuse is still valid. No new superstructure of religious opinion can be reared on the old, eternal foundations of religion in man's breast until many existing temples of error and superstition are shattered and laid low. Negation and destruction are thus only a preliminary stage of affirmation and construction. Every such denial holds an affirmation in its bosom. It would be fatal if the latter were to be suppressed and not permitted to germinate. The better and more enduring part of each radical protest lies in the truth for which it clears the way.

The Federation of Religious Liberals aims to become such a herald of religious truth, and not a mere iconoclast in the temples of Christendom. It will not occupy itself to any extent with the refutation of ancient dogmas, established and orthodox. The

latter, in an age of enlightenment and re-interpretation of faith may be safely left to the dissolving influences of historical criticism, natural science, and modern life. An age which, like ours, lays the emphasis of religion on the social conscience and service of mankind, is not likely to attach undue importance to dogma and rite in the administration of Christianity. In these respects the contributions of Drs. Wm. C. Gannett, F. G. Peabody, and others, to this volume, utter the growing conviction of radical thinkers. The free-thinker whose main strength is given to smiting outworn and dying dogmas and excoriating their upholders belongs to a past and archaic age. He displays neither the wisdom nor the temper of a true liberal. He is more likely to fan into a brighter flame the embers of orthodox belief than to put them out. He would be better employed in proclaiming the splendid affirmations of the new and loftier faith that is dawning upon man's sight.

Again the unlovely contempt which so-called liberals often visit on still more advanced phases of religious thought, and especially on the mystical philosophies and cults of our day, is equally out of place. Aside from the evil done one's own soul through such displays of spiritual arrogance and ill-temper, it will be well to take to heart the noble advice of Coleridge:

"There are errors which no wise man will treat with rudeness, while there is a probability that they may be the refraction of some great truth still below the horizon."

Liberality in religion, then, is not to hold this or that set of opinions, however advanced. It is not to hold no opinions whatever, and be alike indifferent to all the problems of the human mind. It is not to belong to this or that sect or fellowship.

Liberalism is a temper, not a creed. It is an attitude of the mind towards truth, a disposition of the heart towards mankind. It is a pervading spirit of freedom, justice and charity, a spirit to be found in and outside of all sects, but more likely to exist in men of free and progressive opinion.

To cherish this spirit and advance these ideals of affirmative and reverent free-thought is the task which the National Federation of Religious Liberals sets itself. It has a mission to the free as well as to the orthodox believer. It must induce the

latter to form a higher and juster opinion of reverent free-thought and to deal more tolerantly with it. It must awaken in the former a more fair and irenic temper in treating of orthodox doctrines and those who uphold them. Above all, it must arouse the liberal thinker to more earnest efforts in behalf of his own principles and ideals. It is disastrous for him to deceive himself with the current sophisms that: "The evolution of things will bring all out right at last," and we have only to fall back indolently and supinely and let the procession pass on to victory, or to declare that since the whole course of events, scientific, moral, social and mechanical is coming "our way" we have no duty or responsibility in the matter. Such indifference to the opportunities and problems of our time is nothing less than criminal. For we are each and every one a factor of the evolution, and our faithfulness, or our want of zeal, appreciably affects the acceleration, the character and the scope of events. No one can measure and no one can escape his personal share of responsibility in this divine service for truth and humanity. Loyalty is the only course that assures individual happiness and social salvation.

It may be that things are tending our way in the intellectual and social life of man. If so, the power that is bringing them our way is the dedication of human wills and human labors to truth, justice, and fraternity. But what arrests of human progress, what triumphs of reaction, what lapses from the ideal, what cruelty and persecution and agony are caused by man's spiritual sluggishness and disloyalty to the higher vision! And what are we who claim to be heralds and types of the new and larger faith, doing to fit ourselves to become its leaders, inspirers and guides? What are we contributing to frame its philosophy, deepen its reverence, devise its worship, shape its conduct, organize its activities, and enlist its service for the true, the beautiful and the good?

Never was there such an urgent need for the true liberal in religion, devout as well as free, and loving as well as earnest, to dedicate himself to these higher interests of humanity, and uniting with other like-minded men and women of his time to lead the way to loftier faith and more enlightened service.

It is in this sense that the new Federation will seek to bear

strong and effective testimony in behalf of the great, universal affirmations of the moral and spiritual life; it will endeavor to increase the faith of free and reasoning men in the underlying principles of pure religion held in the spirit of perfect liberty and charity; it will devote enlarged attention to the paramount interests of individual character, social service, and good citizenship. By united testimony on the great topics of American thought and life it will seek to become an influence for good in the community, and to coöperate heartily with every agency in State, Church, and School which aims to uplift the national character and invigorate it with high ethical and social ideals.

To accomplish these ends it seeks the countenance and aid of every lover of religious freedom and progress in the American commonwealth, and invites all, without reference to their individual opinion or denominational allegiance, to enroll themselves in its membership. Applications for this purpose may be made to the writer, who, as its secretary, is commissioned to receive adhesions and the annual fee of one dollar which accompanies them. The office of the Federation is at 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

II. THE FIRST CONGRESS IN PHILADELPHIA

It was fortunate for the success of the first public meeting of the National Federation of Religious Liberals that it should have been held under the hospitable roof, and in a measure under the auspices of the Liberal Friends of the City of Brotherly Love, a society whose traditions have so honorably identified it with religious freedom and progress while its relations with the prevailing and orthodox systems of Christianity have yet remained cordial and conciliatory.

The spiritual tone and temper of these fair-minded and gentle advocates of a religion of liberty and love communicated itself to all who participated in the Philadelphia meeting, repressing harshness of utterance and aggressiveness of disposition, if any tendency to these existed, and promoting that mutual courtesy, that readiness to understand and sympathize with opposing forms of belief, that large inclusiveness of spirit which mark the true

liberal in religion. The very simplicity of the old Quaker meeting-house in which the sessions were held rebuked all extravagance or sensationalism on the part of the speakers, and promoted the sincerity and soberness with which the great themes they dealt with were presented.

These characteristic aspects of the Congress were well exhibited at its very first session, when men of national importance spoke their earnest word on the relation of Religious Tolerance to Good Citizenship. Their utterances are elsewhere reported in this volume, but it would be impossible to reproduce the profound impressiveness of the meeting itself, the great auditorium packed with nearly 2,000 hearers, despite the rain which fell without, the eager attention, the warm response to the sentiments of the speakers, and the gratifying assurance to those who for months previous had planned and labored hard for the success of the Congress, that their efforts were to be rewarded.

These experiences were repeated at every subsequent session. The audiences were made up largely of residents of Philadelphia and vicinity, especially of members of the Society of Friends, but also comprised many from other cities and States of the Union, and represented a score of religious fellowships, orthodox and liberal, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Christian. In numbers they ranged from 500 to 1,000 at a day session, while in the evening every seat was occupied.

On the morning of the second day, after an inspiring word of prayer from a Universalist brother, and the Presidential address, a model of simplicity and brevity, the programme devised by the committee was entered upon. Its first theme was The Nature and Mission of Religious Liberalism. Thoughtful, large-minded, and affirmative, these addresses were still more significant as indicating the new spirit and change of emphasis which characterize the religious liberalism of to-day, its respect for opposing opinion, its recognition of the historical element in religious development, its sweet reasonableness in argument, its inclusive sympathy, combined with absolute sincerity of statement and devotion to the truth. These qualities are admirably displayed in the addresses of Revs. Wm. Channing Gannett, Frederick W. Perkins, ex-Gov. Guild, and others contained in this volume, as

well as in its concluding symposium, "The Fellowship of the Spirit." We recommend the reading of them to both radical and conservative believers.

The Affirmations of the Liberal Faith were dealt with more particularly at the third session of the Congress. Its general theme, Religion and Modern Life, included tributes to Charles Darwin and Abraham Lincoln, whose centenaries occurred this year, and both of whom by their lives and services made notable contributions to a liberal and progressive conception of religion. It was especially fitting that an exposition of the great doctrine of evolution, a philosophy of the world-order in which our modern systems of faith are grounded, should precede the papers on the Bible, the Church and Jesus Christ which were included in the program. These last are living questions in the religious consciousness of to-day. Presented in a forceful manner by able thinkers, no other topics awoke a wider variety of opinion in their auditors, both in support of and dissent from the speakers. Prof. Foster's paper, especially, while it moved some to enthusiastic agreement, especially among the Society of Friends, whose chief seat of authority in religion has ever been the inward witness of the ever-present Spirit of God rather than the historic personality of the Christ — provoked others, in discussions that followed, to pained, and more or less explosive, affirmations of their loyalty to Christ as their Savior, Lord and God. All alike were listened to with courteous attention. It is to be regretted that in presenting Prof. Foster's paper the magnetic personality of the man, his profound reverence, and scholarly aloofness from the sectarian temper cannot also be reproduced.

A lively discussion was precipitated by the proposal following Mr. Bowen's and Rev. Clay MacCauley's addresses, given elsewhere, that the Congress take a hand in the movement already begun under Unitarian, Universalist and liberal German auspices to conduct foreign, and especially foreign medical missions on a non-creedal, non-sectarian basis. Our Jewish friends, especially, could not easily reconcile themselves to the idea of a propaganda under Christian influences, whose perverted missionary zeal has so often wrought them cruel injustice and wrong. Whether the motion as finally modified to meet objections pos-

sesses sufficient significance to make it worth while, and whether the material resources at the command of the Congress are sufficient to permit of its practical fulfilment is doubtful. In any case this agitation of the missionary duty of Religious Liberals towards other races was timely, and may pave the way to action hereafter.

No sentiment was more frequently heard on the lips of the delegates at these meetings than that religion is life, and has little value apart from life, the life that now is. A careful perusal of this volume will newly prove how widely modern Christianity has departed from that interpretation of the gospel of Jesus, so long regnant, which conceived it as hostile to this present life and chiefly concerned with the welfare of the soul in another and future state, and which made the supposed interests of the individual paramount to the larger good of the community.

In these respects a great change of emphasis is taking place in Christendom, whose prophets and teachers are proclaiming by word and example, as never before, a religion for the life that now is, a gospel of social responsibility and social service. It was inevitable that in framing the program of the Congress this aspect of religion should be included and certain of its sessions devoted to the serious consideration of topics of political, economic and social importance, in their relation to religion and ethics. The addresses of Prof. F. G. Peabody, Justice Swayze, Alexander Johnson and John Mitchell, dealt with the more general aspects of social duty, and with the papers on specific and burning reforms of our times, such as The Movement for International Peace, the questions involved in Marriage and Divorce, Child Labor, and Temperance, form in their aggregate a contribution to the social ethics of our day which go far to justify our purpose and aim as a national federation. A resolution in favor of woman's suffrage introduced by Mrs. W. C. Gannett was adopted, after a brief but strenuous debate, by 137 votes to 16.

The closing meeting of the Congress was an occasion of profound impressiveness. In the speakers' seats were assembled the representatives of a dozen different sects and fellowships. After an introductory word from Hon. Isaac H. Clothier, who presided, and a ringing declaration in behalf of "Liberty and Union in

Religion" by the venerable dean of the ministers present,— like Dr. Channing, "always young for liberty"— these spokesmen for freedom of thought, in brief addresses reaffirmed their loyalty to the principles on which the Federation is founded and their joy at the inspiration and goodly fellowship it had brought them. Their words, for the most part, are reproduced in this volume, but who can reproduce the fervor of spirit, the kindliness of look and tone, the outpouring of the heart, with which they were accompanied! The meeting fitly closed with a brief and tender word from the President of the Congress, Henry W. Wilbur, which ended with a prayer, and a moment's "gathering into the quiet." As a sympathetic participant in the meeting reports in the organ of his denomination, *The Congregationalist,* of Boston:

"There was a solemn joy during the closing session as representatives of once persecuted forms of faith rose to commit themselves to the new-found fellowship of character and service, and in the solemn devotional hush in which the meeting fitly closed there was felt the brooding of the Spirit who rests upon all men's intellectual strivings and incites the faithful energies of those who walk alone with their own consciences."

It remains to be said that the testimonies in the form of resolutions adopted by the Congress as the expression of its opinion on current questions of personal and social religion will be found in their proper place in this volume. A feature which cannot be reproduced, however, was the social opportunities afforded by the meetings, the interchanges of thought and sentiment between its members which culminated on Wednesday evening in a delightful reception at the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford, tendered the Congress by a member of the Society of Friends. Some 300 persons were present and addresses were made by Henry W. Wilbur, Revs. Lewis G. Wilson, secretary of the American Unitarian Association, and Chas. W. Wendte, of Boston, Rev. Hugo Eisenlohr and Rabbi David Philipson, of Cincinnati, and Rev. Dr. A. S. Crapsey, of Rochester, N. Y. Miss Elizabeth Powell Bond, Dean of Swarthmore College, made touching reference to Lucretia Mott and other brave spirits, members of the Society of Liberal Friends, whose faithful testimony in former days had made possible these Philadelphia meetings, concluding her remarks with the lines which follow:

A SUMMARY.

From height to height of thought our guides have led
Our feet where Truth's most holy places glow
With presence of the Lord — our privilege
A moment's ecstasy of vision clear,
Ere girding on fresh armor of God's knights.
There in the holiest place stood those who plead
Arrested manhood's cause — the dwarfed, fast bound
To whirring wheels, or in the earth's dark depths;
A voice for womanhood was heard; the child's
Sad plaint for more than bread, for motherhood's
Sweet care, and freedom with the birds and flowers.

Forth must we fare to think the highest thought,
To be swift feet and loving hands for Him
Who needs our thought made manifest through deed;
On earth to plant the kingdom of God's heaven.

Another social occasion was an automobile excursion to the beautiful suburbs of Philadelphia, arranged for by the Hospitality Committee, which was made up of members of All Souls' and Church of the Restoration, Universalist, the First, Spring Garden, and Germantown Unitarian Churches, the Ethical Society, the Hebrew Temples Keneseth Israel and Rodeph Shalom, as well as the Society of Friends. Its chairman, Miss Susan W. Janney, was indefatigable in providing for the reception and entertainment of the delegates.

The number of members enrolled was 1,010. The total moneys received by the treasurer, Mr. Henry Justice, from membership fees and contributions were $1,164. To this amount should be added some $300, expended for preliminary expenses in organizing the Federation, which sum was donated by the American Unitarian Association. The latter also contributed the time and services of its foreign secretary for the furtherance of this object. The Congress has thus been enabled to meet all its expenses, including the printing of the present volume. Especial thanks are due to Messrs. Isaac H. Clothier, Henry C. Lea, Howard H. Furness, and Chas. W. Eliot for their generosity to this cause.

Acknowledgments are also due to the many men and women who helped by wise counsel and unselfish service to make the Con-

gress a success, as well as to various churches and associations. Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, President of the American Unitarian Association, Dr. Frederick A. Bisbee, editor of the Universalist *Leader,* Edwin D. Mead, President of the Free Religious Association of America, and Dr. Jenkins Lloyd Jones, editor of *Unity,* and the inspiring soul of The Congress of Religion, were prominent among these. Especially noteworthy was the generous interest taken by the two last-named in the Federation, for whose activities the associations they represent may be said to have blazed the way and prepared the ground. They gave their younger sister and ally in the work of religious enlightenment and reform an unselfish and warm welcome and the benefit of their large experience.

The Congress was greatly indebted to the public press of the United States, and especially the city of Philadelphia, for the large attention it paid to its sessions, heralding the organization of the Federation and reporting its proceedings and papers. Certain religious journals printed the Congress program in full, and gave large space to reports of its sessions, among them *The Christian Register, Universalist Leader, The Unitarian, Friend's Intelligencer, Unity, Reform Advocate,* and *Geist und Gemueth,* while others, like the *Outlook, Congregationalist* and *Herald of Gospel Liberty,* contained friendly notices. In England *The London Inquirer,* and in Germany *Die Christliche Welt* contained full and excellent reports, the latter written by Rev. Hans Haupt, of North Tonawanda, N. Y., a delegate at the meetings. From the League of Progressive Thoughts and Social Service, instituted by the Rev. R. J. Campbell in England, a cordial invitation to enter into fraternal relations with it has been received.

It would be impossible to give due credit to all who aided in the conduct of the Congress, but acknowledgments should be returned to its President, Henry W. Wilbur, whose wisdom guided and whose happy wit enlivened the meetings; to Rev. G. G. Mills, of Watertown, Mass., who faithfully assisted the Secretary; to Rev. Geo. H. Ferris, D.D., who was a perennial source of inspiration; to Rabbis Joseph Krauskopf and Henry Berkowitz, whose counsel and help were invaluable; to Revs. Dr. J. Clarence Lee and J. L. Dowson, instant and untiring in service; to Revs. Frederick A. Hinckley and Oscar B. Hawes, and R. Barclay Spicer

and S. B. Weston, members of local committees; and especially to the chairman of the Business Committee, Rev. Charles E. St. John, whose devotion and resources never flagged, and whose large experience and excellent judgment skillfully guided the proceedings.

In summing up the results attained by the Congress attention may be called first to its inclusiveness of spirit.

Not only liberal Christians, so-called, but members of orthodox bodies, spoke from its platform and took part in its proceedings; not Protestants only, but Roman Catholics, and Jews, and Ethical Culturists, and free-thinkers of various shades of opinion, while Dr. Booker T. Washington and others represented the colored race. In spite of all these wide divergencies of opinion unbroken harmony reigned throughout the sessions. Furthermore not only men but women spoke at the meetings and shared in their conduct. Secondly, the large part borne by the laity in the Congress was noteworthy and in refreshing contrast to the almost exclusively clerical representation of many religious assemblies. Nineteen of the forty-five speakers on the program belonged to the laity — surely an encouraging sign of the religious times. Finally, the emphasis laid on the affirmations of religious faith, rather than on negations, the growing endeavor not only to speak the truth but to "speak it in love," and the identification of true religion with the life of love and service, good citizenship, industrial righteousness and social reform, were characteristics of the first Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals, and entitle it to the sympathetic attention and generous support of enlightened and progressive believers throughout the American commonwealth.

OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS 1909-10

President, Henry W. Wilbur, 140 North 15th Street, Philadelphia.

General Secretary, Rev. Charles W. Wendte, D.D., 25 Beacon Street, Boston, to whom communications may be addressed.

Treasurer, Henry Justice, 122 South Front Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey, D.D., Brotherhood House, Rochester, N. Y.

Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, D.D., President American Unitarian Association, Boston, Mass.

Rev. Hugo Eisenlohr, Pastor German Evangelical Church, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Rev. George H. Ferris, D.D., Pastor First Baptist Church, Philadelphia.

Professor George B. Foster, Ph.D., University of Chicago.

Rev. Frank O. Hall, D.D., Minister Church of the Divine Paternity, Universalist, New York.

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Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Boston, Mass.

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Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, LL.D., Minister Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Ill.

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Rev. J. Clarence Lee, D.D., Pastor Church of the Restoration, Universalist, Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. Henry Mottet, D.D., Rector Church of the Holy Communion, New York.

Edwin D. Mead, President of the Free Religious Association of America, Boston, Mass.

Rev. R. Heber Newton, D.D., East Hampton, Long Island, N. Y.

Rabbi David Philipson, D.D., President Central Conference of American Rabbis, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Rev. Charles E. St. John, Pastor First Unitarian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Director Summer School of Ethics, New York.

Rev. J. J. Summerbell, D.D., Christian, Dayton, Ohio.

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Rev. J. B. Weston, D.D., President Christian Biblical Institute, Defiance, Ohio.

S. Burns Weston, Director Ethical Culture Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. Charles W. Wendte, D.D., Foreign Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, Boston, Mass.

Henry W. Wilbur, General Secretary of the Committee for Advancement of Friends' Principles.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

The National Federation of Religious Liberals is affiliated with the International Congress of Religious Liberals.

The purpose of this Congress is "to open communication with those in all lands who are striving to unite pure religion and perfect liberty, and to increase fellowship and coöperation among them."

It seeks to bring into closer union for exchange of ideas, mutual service, and the promotion of their common aims the historic liberal churches, the liberal elements in all churches, scattered liberal congregations, and isolated workers for religious freedom and progress in many lands.

It aims to be a source of encouragement and strength to them in their struggles against dogmatic intolerance and ecclesiastical tyranny.

It cultivates large and fraternal relations with the great liberal movements in religion now going on under various names and auspices throughout the world.

To promote these ends, it holds a triennial Congress in some acknowledged seat of religious enlightenment and freedom. Largely attended and successful meetings have been held in London (1901), Amsterdam (1903), Geneva (1905), and Boston (1907). At the last named nearly 2,400 members were enrolled. The papers and proceedings of these Congresses have been published. The next international Congress will be held at Berlin, Germany, August 6-10, 1910. A general participation is invited.

Some 93 religious associations are now affiliated with the Council, send official delegates to its meetings, and make it the international organ of their fraternal relations with each other.

The Committee for 1907–10 consists of Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, D.D., Boston, U. S. A., *Chairman;* Rev. Charles W. Wendte, D.D., 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A., *General Secretary* (to whom communications may be addressed); Prof. G.

Boros, D.D., Kolozsvár, Hungary; Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, London, England; Prof. J. Estlin Carpenter, D.D., Oxford, England; Prof. B. D. Eerdmans, D.D., Leiden, Holland; Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., Boston, U. S. A.; Rev P. H. Hugenholtz, Jr., Amsterdam, Holland; Prof. E. Montet, D.D., Geneva, Switzerland; Prof. Martin Rade, D.D., Marburg, Germany; Rev. J. Emile Roberty, Paris, France; Rev. G. Schoenholzer, Zürich, Switzerland; Miss M. B. Westenholz, Copenhagen, Denmark; Rev. Max Fischer, D.D., Berlin, Germany; Prof. G. Bonet-Maury, Paris, France.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS

THE ONE RELIGION.

"All humble, merciful, just, pious, and devout souls are everywhere of *One* religion. Holiness, purity, and charity are not the exclusive possession of any church in the world, but *every* system has produced men and women of the most exalted character."

SPIRITUAL INDEPENDENCE.

To conceit that men must form their faith according to the prescriptions of other mortal men is both ridiculous and dangerous. . . . The understanding can never be convinced by other arguments than what are adequate to its own nature. Force may make hypocrites, but it can make no converts.— *William Penn.*

A PROPHECY.

The time is coming when the more liberal of the Catholic and Protestant branches of Christ's Church will advance and meet upon a common platform, and form a broad Christian community in which all shall be identified, in spite of all diversities and differences in non-essential matters of faith. So shall the Baptists and Methodists, Trinitarian and Unitarian, the Ritualists and the Evangelical all unite in a broad and universal religious organization, loving, honoring, serving the common body, while retaining the peculiarites of each sect. Only the broad of each sect shall for the present come forward: others will follow in time. The base remains where it is: the vast masses at the foot of each church will yet remain, perhaps for centuries, where they now are. But, as you look to the lofty heights above, you will see all the bolder spirits and broad souls of each church pressing forward, onward, heavenward.

Come, then, my friends, ye broad-hearted of all the churches, advance and shake hands with each other, and promote that spiritual fellowship, that kingdom of heaven, which Jesus predicted.— *Keshub Chunder Sen, Hindu Theist, in* 1833.

PROGRAM OF THE

FIRST CONGRESS

OF THE

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

HELD IN

Philadelphia, Pa., April 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1909.

The sessions of the Congress were held in the meeting house of the religious society of Friends, Race Street, near North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia.

OFFICERS OF THE CONGRESS

President, Henry W. Wilbur, 140 North 15th Street, Philadelphia.

General Secretary, Charles W. Wendte, D.D., 25 Beacon Street, Boston, to whom communications may be addressed.

Treasurer, Henry Justice, 122 South Front Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

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George Batchelor, Editor *Christian Register,* Boston, Mass.
Elizabeth Powell Bond, Philadelphia, Pa.
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Joseph H. Crooker, D.D., Boston, Mass.
Gen. Newton M. Curtis, New York, N. Y.

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William L. Douglas, ex-Governor of Massachusetts, Brockton, Mass.
Eben S. Draper, Governor of Massachusetts.
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Samuel A. Eliot, D.D., President American Unitarian Association, Boston, Mass.
William H. P. Faunce, LL.D., President Brown University, Providence, R. I.
Lewis B. Fisher, D.D., President Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill.
Rabbi Charles Fleischer, Boston, Mass.
Henry P. Forbes, D.D., President Theological School, Canton, N. Y.
Miss Emma F. Foster, President Woman's National Missionary Association of the Universalist Church, Boston, Mass.
Horace Howard Furness, LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. Miss Eleanor E. Gordon, Des Moines, Ia.
Mrs. Frances A. Hackley, Tarrytown, N. Y.
Edward Everett Hale, D.D., Chaplain United States Senate.
James S. Haviland, New Rochelle, N. Y.
Rabbi Maximillian Heller, New Orleans, La.
Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, D.D., Chicago, Ill.
Jesse H. Holmes, Ph.D., Swarthmore College, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Boston, Mass.
Charles L. Hutchinson, Chicago, Ill.
William De Witt Hyde, LL.D., President Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
William M. Jackson, New York, N. Y.
Dr. O. Edward Janney, Baltimore, Md.
David Starr Jordan, President Stanford University, California.
Rabbi J. Leonard Levy, D.D., Pittsburg, Pa.
John D. Long, LL.D., Hingham, Mass.
Miss Emma C. Low, President National Alliance of Unitarian Women, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Lee S. McCollester, D.D., Detroit, Mich.

Prof. Arthur C. McGiffert, D.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.
Benjamin H. Miller, Ashton, Md.
Mrs. Sarah T. Miller, Ashton, Md.
J. T. Mitchell, Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. George F. Moore, D.D., Theological School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
William J. Ogden, Baltimore, Md.
A. Mitchell Palmer, Congressman, Stroudsburg, Pa.
Edward A. Pennock, Chatham, Pa.
Frederick W. Perkins, D.D., Lynn, Mass.
Jacob H. Schiff, New York, N. Y.
Jacob G. Schurman, LL.D., President of Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Edward C. Stokes, ex-Governor of New Jersey, Trenton, N. J.
Jabez T. Sunderland, D.D., Hartford, Conn.
Joseph Swain, LL.D., President Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Dr. Booker T. Washington, President Tuskegee Institute.
Mrs. Helen Magill White, Ithaca, N. Y.

THE FOUNDERS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

If we were to single out the men who from the beginning of our colonial state until the present time have most eminently contributed to fostering and securing religious freedom, who have made this country of ours the haven of refuge from ecclesiastical tyranny and persecution, who have set an example more puissant than army or navy for freeing the conscience of men from civil interference, and have leavened the mass of intolerance wherever the name of America is known, I would mention first the Baptist, *Roger Williams,* who maintained the principle that the civil powers have no right to meddle in matters of conscience, and who founded a state with that principle as its keystone. I would mention second the Catholic, *Lord Baltimore,* the proprietor of Maryland, to whom belongs the credit of having established liberty in matters of worship which was second only to Rhode Island. I would name third the Quaker, *William Penn,* whose golden motto was "We must yield the liberties we demand." Fourth on the list is *Thomas Jefferson,* that "arch infidel," as he has been termed by some religious writers, who overthrew the established church in his own state, and then, with prophetic statesmanship, made it impossible for any church to establish itself under our national constitution or in any way to abridge the rights of conscience.— *Oscar S. Straus, in "Religious Liberty in the United States."*

RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND PUBLIC OFFICE.

What if I differ from some religious apprehensions? Am I therefore incompatible with human societies? . . . I know not any unfit for political society but those who maintain principles subversive of industry, fidelity, justice, and obedience. . . . Five things are requisite for a good officer,—ability, clean hands, despatch, patience, and impartiality.— *William Penn.*

To discriminate against a thoroughly upright citizen because he belongs to some particular church, or because, like Abraham Lincoln, he has not avowed his allegiance to any church, is an outrage against that liberty of conscience which is one of the foundations of American life. You are entitled to know whether a man seeking your suffrage is a man of clean and upright life, honorable in all his dealings with his fellows, and fit by qualification and purpose to do well in the great office for which he is a candidate; but you are not entitled to know matters which lie purely between himself and his Maker.— *Theodore Roosevelt.*

RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

We love and revere this country as our home and fatherland for us and our children, and therefore consider it our paramount duty to sustain and support the government, to favor by all means the

PROGRAM OF THE CONGRESS
TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 27, 8 O'CLOCK

First and opening session of the Congress. Welcome by the President of the Congress, Henry W. Wilbur, of Philadelphia.

Topic of the session, "RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP."

Mutual toleration and good will between all classes, races, and churches of the republic a fundamental condition of religious and civil welfare.

8.20. Address, "The Jew and Good Citizenship." Oscar S. Straus, of New York, late United States Secretary of Commerce and Labor.*

8.40. Address, "The Roman Catholic and Good Citizenship." Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, late Attorney-General of the United States.

9.00. Address, "The Protestant and Good Citizenship." President W. H. P. Faunce, of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

9.20. Address, "The Negro and Good Citizenship." Dr. Booker T. Washington, Principal Tuskegee Institute.

Dismission.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

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system of free education, leaving religious instruction to the care of the different denominations.—*From Resolutions of Conference of American Rabbis, Cleveland, Ohio,* 1870.

Fifteen million Catholics live their lives in our land with undisturbed belief in the perfect harmony existing between their religion and their duties as American citizens. It never occurs to their minds to question the truth of a belief which all their experience confirms. Love of religion and love of country burn together in their hearts. They prefer our form of government before any other. They admire

* Mr. Straus was at the last moment prevented from keeping his engagement by the illness of a member of his family. Rabbi David Phillipson of Cincinnati, at a subsequent session of the Congress, gave an address on the theme assigned to Mr. Straus, a report of which will be found in this volume.

its institutions and the spirit of its laws. They accept the Constitution without reserve, with no desire, as Catholics, to see it changed in any feature. They can with a clear conscience swear to uphold it.

The separation of Church and State in this country seems to them the natural, inevitable and best conceivable plan, the one that would work best among us, both for the good of religion and of the State. Any change in their relations they would contemplate with dread.—*Cardinal Gibbons, in North American Review, March,* 1909.

Give me liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties. . . . How many other things might be tolerated in peace and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief stronghold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another.—*John Milton.*

"No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem."

"In the economy of God there is but one standard by which an individual can succeed,—there is but one for a race. . . . We are to be tested in our patience, our forbearance, our perseverance, our power to endure wrong, to withstand temptations, to economize, to acquire and use skill in our ability to compete, to succeed in commerce, to disregard the superficial for the real, the appearance for the substance, to be great and yet small, learned and yet simple, high and yet the servant of all."—*Booker T. Washington.*

RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM.

George Fox — The basis of his teaching was the belief that each soul is in religious matters answerable not to its fellows, but to God alone, without priestly mediation, because the Holy Spirit is immediately present in every soul, and is thus a direct cause of illumination. From this central belief flowed two important practical consequences, both essentially modern: one was complete toleration, the other was complete equality of human beings before the law.—*John Fiske.*

PROGRESS IN RELIGION.

The whole system of traditional orthodoxy, Greek, Latin, and Protestant, must progress, or it will be left behind the age, and lose its hold on thinking men. The Church must keep pace with civilization, adjust herself to the modern conditions of religious and political freedom, and accept the established results of biblical and historical criticism and natural science.

God speaks in history and science as well as in the Bible and the Church, and He cannot contradict Himself. Truth is sovereign, and must and will prevail over all ignorance, error, and prejudice.—*Dr. Philip Schaff, address at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago.*

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 28, 9.30 a. m.

SECOND SESSION SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

Topic, "THE NATURE AND MISSION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM."

9.30. Devotional Service. Conducted by Rev. John Clarence Lee, D.D., Pastor Universalist Church of the Restoration, Philadelphia.

9.40. Presidential Address. Henry W. Wilbur, Secretary Committee for the Advancement of Friends' Principles, Philadelphia.

10.00. Secretary's Report. Rev. Charles W. Wendte, Foreign Secretary American Unitarian Association, Boston.*

10.10. Business. Appointment of Committees.

10.15. Address: topic, "What is Religious Liberalism?" Rev. William Channing Gannett, D.D., Rochester, N. Y.

10.40. Address: topic, "What Liberal Religion Does for Man's Higher Welfare and Happiness." President Frederick W. Hamilton, D.D., Tufts College, Boston, Mass.

11.00. Discussion.

11.30. Address: topic, "What Liberal Religion has done for America." Edwin D. Mead, President of the Free Religious Association, Boston, Mass.

12.00. Discussion.

12.30. Adjournment.

THE INNER LIGHT.

Having for a considerable time past found, from full conviction, that scarcely anything is so baneful to the present and future happiness and welfare of mankind as a submission to tradition and popular opinion, I have been led to see the necessity of investigating for myself all customs and doctrines of a moral and religious nature, either verbally or historically communicated, by the best and greatest of men or angels, and not to sit down satisfied with anything but a plain, clear testimony of the spirit and word of life and light in my own heart and conscience.— *Elias Hicks.*

* The substance of this report is included in the Introduction to this volume.

THE LIBERAL FAITH.

A religion wide as the widest outlook of the human mind, a religion free as human thought, concurrent with reason, co-ordinate with science; a religion in which the present predominates over the past, and the future over the present, in which judgment tops authority, and vision outruns tradition,—this is the instant demand of a liberal faith.—*Frederick H. Hedge, D. D.*

"Why does the meadow flower its bloom expand?
Because the lovely little flower is free
Down to its roots, and in that freedom bold.
And so the grandeur of the forest tree
Comes not from casting in a formal mould,
But from its own divine vitality." *Wordsworth.*

THE LIBERAL PROBLEM.

Our problem is not primarily intellectual, but moral. It is the reconciliation of the Spirit of Truth with the Spirit of Devotion. Our task is to bring together thought and reverence, the fearless mind and the uplifted heart.—*Rev. A. W. Jackson.*

The truly liberal build no citadel for themselves; they only parol and keep the streets of the free city.—*Julia Ward Howe.*

Liberty is conservative: it builds up; it is like the sap of the oak that courses to every twig and root, creating as it goes new genius, developing ever more perfect forms, and ever greater strength. License is liberty made insane—the household fire become a conflagration.—*Celia Burleigh.*

All progress is from less to more freedom; from ignorance and subordination to intelligent self-direction.—*Ibid.*

We must look forward in trust to a better future. The difficulty, however, is this: a narrow faith has much more energy than an enlightened faith; the world belongs to will much more than to wisdom. It is not, then, certain that liberty will triumph over fanaticism, and, besides, independent thought will never have the force of prejudice.—*Henry Frederick Amiel.*

'Truth is great, and must prevail;
Write the adage, where? and when?
Truth has failed, will fail again,
If not backed by earnest men."

A. J. Ellis.

Great is truth and stronger than all things. Truth abideth and is strong forever; she liveth and conquereth forevermore.—*Esdras, First Book, chapter iv.*

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 28, 2 p. m.

SECOND SESSION (*continued*)

2.00. Address: topic, "Liberal Religion a Positive Faith." Ex-Governor Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr., of Boston, Mass.

2.20. Address: topic, "The Obligations and Opportunities of Religious Liberalism in America To-day." Rev. Frederic W. Perkins, D.D., of Lynn, Mass.

2.50. Discussion.

3.30. Adjournment.

Special arrangements made for afternoon sight-seeing, automobile rides about Philadelphia and its environs, and personally conducted tours about the city.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 28

Social Reception. In the Clover Room of the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford. Admission by membership badge. Brief addresses by various speakers.

THE ESSENTIAL THING IN RELIGION.

Inward sanctity, pure love, disinterested attachment to God and man, obedience of heart and life, sincere excellence of character, this is the one thing needful, this is the essential thing in religion; and all things else — ministers, churches, ordinances, places of worship — are all but means, helps, secondary influences, and utterly worthless when separated from this. To imagine that God regards anything but this, that he looks at anything but the heart, is to dishonor him, to express a mournful insensibility to his pure character. Goodness, purity, virtue, this is the only distinction in God's sight. This is intrinsically, essentially, everlastingly, and by its own nature lovely, beautiful, glorious, divine. It owes nothing to time, to circumstance, to outward confessions. It shines by its own light. It is God himself dwelling in the human soul.— *William E. Channing.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S RELIGION.

"The conversation turned upon religious subjects, and Mr. Lincoln made this impressive remark: 'I have never united myself to any church, because I have found difficulty in giving my assent, without mental reservation, to the long complicated statements of Christian doctrine which characterize their Articles of Belief and Confessions of Faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar, as its sole qualification for membership, the Saviour's condensed statement of the substance of both Law and Gospel, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself," that church will I join with all my heart and all my soul.'"—*From "Six Months in the White House."*

CHARLES DARWIN.

Acute as were his reasoning powers, vast as was his knowledge, marvellous as was his tenacious industry under physical difficulties which would have converted nine men out of ten into aimless invalids, it was not these qualities, great as they were, which impressed those who were admitted to his intimacy with involuntary veneration, but a certain and almost passionate honesty by which all his thoughts and actions were irradiated as by a central fire.—*Thomas Huxley.*

THE OLD-NEW BIBLE.

In the light of modern science, the sacred text has been transformed. Out of the old chaos has come order. Out of the hopelessly conflicting statements in religion and morals has come the idea of a sacred literature which mirrors the most striking evolution of morals and religion in the history of our race. Of all the sacred writings of the world, our own is the most beautiful and the most precious. It exhibits to us the most complete religious development to which humanity has attained, and holds before us the loftiest ideals our race has known.—*Andrew D. White.*

THE CHURCH.

There never was a time in the history of the world when the Church was a greater necessity than at present, because human society was never in more need of the moral quality which it contributes to man's life. Not more legislative statutes, but more of the spiritual convictions of a rational piety; not more luxuries, but more of the ethical motives that flow from the spiritual nurture of the Church,— . . . this is the one supreme preparation for life to-day.—*Joseph H. Crooker.*

An enthusiasm for humanity is needed to transform the Church, and, thus transformed, the Church would soon transform the world. —*Josiah Strong.*

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 29, 9.30 a. m.

THIRD SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

Topic, "RELIGION AND MODERN LIFE."

9.30. Devotional Service. Rev. Hugo Eisenlohr, Cincinnati, Ohio.

9.40. Address: topic, "The Religion of Democracy, as exemplified by the Career of Abraham Lincoln (1809–1909)." Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Minister Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Ill.

10.20. Address: topic, "Evolution and Religion. Religion's Debt to Charles Darwin (1809–1909)." Rev. Chas. E. St. John, minister First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia.

11.00. Discussion.

11.30. Address: "The Bible in Modern Life." Rabbi David Philipson, President Central Conference of American Rabbis, Cincinnati, Ohio.

12.00. Discussion.

12.30. Adjournment.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 29, 2 p. m.

THIRD SESSION (*continued*)

2.00. Address: "The Church in Modern Life." Rev. Frank O. Hall, D.D., Minister Church of the Divine Paternity, New York, N. Y.

2.35. Discussion.

3.10. Address: "Jesus Christ in Modern Life." Prof. George B. Foster, Ph.D., University of Chicago.

3.45. Address: "The Relation of Liberal Religion to Foreign Missions." Albert Bowen, of Philadelphia.

Discussion. Led by Rev. Clay MacCauley, formerly of Tokio, Japan.

HONEST POLITICS.

"The Republic, the noblest form of government, is also the most difficult of governments to maintain. Its integrity and perpetuity depend, as in no other form of polity, on the righteousness, loyalty, and incessant watchfulness of its citizens, both in their individual and collective capacity. For either liberty must cast out corruption, or corruption will destroy liberty."

SOCIAL BETTERMENT.

It is our duty to be a leaven of hope and help in the world. It is our duty to serve our generation, to purify the blood of the social organism, to arch the world of human life with a fairer sky, to become ourselves a social Providence, to uncover in our own souls, before the eyes and hearts of men, the face and life of God.—*William Thurston Brown.*

We are trying to live on with a social organization of which the day is over. Certainly equality will never of itself give us a perfect civilization. But with such inequality as ours a perfect civilization is impossible. Our inequality materializes our upper class, vulgarizes our middle, brutalizes our lower. Political freedom may very well be established by aristocratic founders, social freedom, equality, that is rather the field of the conquests of democracy.—*Matthew Arnold.*

I confess I am not at all charmed with the ideal of life held out by those who think that the normal state of human beings is that of struggling to get on; that the trampling, crushing, elbowing, and treading on each other's heels, which form the existing type of human life, are the most desirable lot of humankind, or anything but the disagreeable symptoms of one of the phases of industrial progress.—*John Stuart Mill.*

THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

There is no fundamental antagonism between labor and capital. Capital is, in large measure, the product of labor, and there can be, or at least there should be, no conflict between him who creates and the thing he creates. In the final analysis the problem is in the distribution of wealth; there always has been, and possibly there always will be, a difference of opinion as to the equitable distribution of wealth. But I am optimistic enough to believe that, as time goes on, the men of both labor and capital will, to a greater and greater extent, adjust their relations amicably and honorably, and without recourse to the strike or lockout.—*John Mitchell.*

THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 29, 8 O'CLOCK

FOURTH SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

Topic, "RELIGION AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION."

8.00. Devotional Service.

8.10. Address: "Religion and Politics." Justice F. J. Swayze, Supreme Court of New Jersey.

8.40. Address: "Religion and Social Service." Alexander Johnson, General Secretary National Conference of Charities and Correction, Fort Wayne, Ind.

9.10. Address: "Religion and Modern Industrialism." John Mitchell, late President United Mine Workers of America.

Whatever demoralizes the man and the citizen, whatever violates the dictates of conscience or lowers the standard of rectitude in his soul, inflicts a more dangerous wound upon the Constitution, and shakes the fabric of our nationality more than any open treason. The basis of all public law is private virtue. The anchorage of our national Union is in personal rectitude and reverence. If it holds by anything more shallow than this it is unsafe, and they who flout individual conscience and the moral law in the soul do violence to the strongest guarantees of all order and all law.—*Rev. F. H. Chapin.*

THE SO-CALLED PHARISAISM OF REFORM.

No American, it seems to me, is so unworthy the name as he who attempts to extenuate or defend any national abuse, who denies or tries to hide it, or who derides as pessimists and Pharisees those who indignantly disown it and raise the cry of reform. If a man proposes the redress of any public wrong, he is asked severely whether he considers himself so much wiser and better than other men that he must disturb the existing order and pose as a saint. If he denounces an evil, he is exhorted to beware of spiritual pride. If he points out a dangerous public tendency or censures the action of a party, he is advised to cultivate good-humor, to look on the bright side, to remember that the world is a very good world, at least the best going, and very much better than it was a hundred years ago. It is an ill-sign when public men find in exposure and denunciation of public abuses evidence of the Pharisaic disposition and a tendency in the critic to think himself holier than other men. To the cant about the Pharisaism of reform there is one short and final answer. The man who tells the truth *is* a holier man than the liar. The man who does not steal *is* a better man than the thief.—*George William Curtis.*

PEACE ON EARTH.

From the beginning Friends have been advocates of peace. A Quaker civilization would abolish armies and navies, do away with all war and preparations for war. It would eliminate altogether the principal of destructive force from governmental control.—*A. M. Powell.*

My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth.—*George Washington.*

War is the most ferocious and futile of human follies.—*John Hay.*

A SOCIAL CONSCIENCE.

Our days witness a recoil from the extreme inwardness of our forefathers' religion. Human affections warm us more. Human duties are nobler in our view. Social interests are of deeper moment, and the whole scene of man's visible life, no longer the mere vestibule of an invisible futurity, has a worth and dignity of its own, which philanthropy delights to honor, and only fanaticism can despise. —*James Martineau.*

TRUE MARRIAGE.

In the marriage union the independence of the husband and wife should be equal, their dependence mutual, and their obligations reciprocal.—*Lucretia Mott.*

A NORMAL CHILDHOOD.

The new view of the child,—normal birth, physical protection, joyous infancy, useful education, and an ever fuller inheritance of the accumulated riches of civilization.—*Edward T. Devine.*

A REFORMER'S VISION.

Am I sure of the success of the temperance movement? As sure as I am that the sun will rise to-morrow. Let me only feel that the everlasting right of God is underneath my feet, and sometime, somewhere, I win. I have lived a good many years in the world. I have gone through many reforms. I have at last arrived at the point where my confidence in the certain victory of all moral effort, in the immortality and triumph of what is right, is fixed, and never will die. Victory may be postponed, but I am confident that it will come. The time will be when, if we continue this work against the liquor traffic, the end will come. You and I may not live to see it, but our children and our children's children will be the gainers, and we on the other side shall take our part in the great rejoicing, when the cry of jubilee shall rise, "Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!"—*Mary A. Livermore.*

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 30, 9.30 a. m.

FIFTH SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

Topic, "RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORM."

9.30. Devotional Service.

9.40. Address: "The Duty of Religious Liberals towards the Peace Movement." Dr. William I. Hull, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

10.10. Discussion. Led by Miss Anna B. Eckstein, of Boston.

10.40. Address: "Religion and the Social Conscience." Prof. Francis Greenwood Peabody, D.D., of Harvard University.

11.15. Discussion. Led by W. J. Ogden, Baltimore.

11.40. Address: "The Duty of Religious Liberals with Respect to Marriage and Divorce." Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Director Summer School of Ethics, New York.

12.10. Discussion.

12.30. Adjournment.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 30, 2 p. m.

FIFTH SESSION (*continued*)

2. Address: "The Duty of Religious Liberals with Respect to the Child." Mrs. Frederick Nathan, President Consumers' League, New York.

2.30. Discussion.

3.00. Address: "The Duty of Religious Liberals toward the Temperance Reform." Wilson S. Doan, Indianapolis, Ind.

3.30. Discussion. Led by Rev. Pedro Ilgen, D.D., Pastor German Evangelical Church of the Holy Spirit, St. Louis, Mo.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE SPIRIT.

We have grown up under different influences. We bear different names. . . . Diversities of opinion may incline us to worship under different roofs, or diversities of tastes or habit to worship with different forms. But . . . we may still honor and love and rejoice in one another's spiritual life and progress as truly as if we were cast into one and the same unyielding form. . . . In many great truths, in those which are most quickening, purifying, and consoling, we all, I hope, agree. There is a common ground of practice aloof from all controversy, on which we may all meet. We may all unite hearts and hands in doing good, in fulfilling God's purposes of love towards our race, in toiling and suffering for the cause of humanity, in spreading intelligence, freedom, and virtue, in making God known for the reverence, love and imitation of his creatures, in resisting the abuses and corruptions of past ages, in exploring and drying up the sources of poverty, in rescuing the fallen from intemperance, in succoring the orphan and widow, in enlightening and elevating the depressed portions of the community, in breaking the yoke of the oppressed and enslaved, in exposing and withstanding the spirit and horrors of war, in sending God's word to the ends of the earth, in redeeming the world from sin and woe. . . . May this universal charity descend on us, and possess our hearts; may our narrowness, exclusiveness, and bigotry melt away!— *William Ellery Channing.*

PEACE AND LOVE.

With the sweet word of peace
  We bid our brethren go,—
Peace, as a river to increase
  And ceaseless flow.
With the calm word of prayer
  We earnestly commend
Each other to thy watchful care,
  Eternal Friend!

With the dear word of love
  We give our friends farewell;
Our love below and Thine above
  With them shall dwell.
With the strong word of faith
  We stay ourselves on Thee,
That Thou, O Lord, in life and death
  Our help shalt be.

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 30

SIXTH AND CLOSING SESSON OF THE CONGRESS

Topic, "THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE SPIRIT."

7.45. Devotional Service.

8.00. Address: "Liberty and Union in Religion." Rev. Charles G. Ames, D.D., Minister Church of the Disciples, Boston, Mass.

8.15. Seven-minute addresses by representative members of the following and other religious bodies:

Baptist. Rev. Dr. George H. Ferris, of Philadelphia.

Congregationalist. Rev. C. S. Patton, of Ann Arbor, Mich.

Christian. Rev. Wm. H. Hainer, Irvington, N. J.

Disciple. Rev. L. G Batman, Philadelphia.

Episcopalian. Rev. Dr. Henry Mottet, of New York.

Ethical Culture Society. Mr. Percival Chubb, of New York.

Friend. Prof. Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, of Philadelphia.

German Evangelical. Rev. Carl A. Voss, of Pittsburg, Pa.

Jewish. Rabbi Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, of Philadelphia.

Lutheran. Rev. Luther DeYeo, Germantown, Pa.

Schwenkfelderian. Rev. H. Heebner, of Philadelphia.

Universalist. Rev. J. Clarence Lee, D.D., of Philadelphia.

Unitarian. Rev. W. H. Fish, of Meadville, Penn.

Closing remarks by the President of the Congress, Henry W. Wilbur.

Glory, honor, and peace to every man that worketh good!—*Romans* ii, 10.

TESTIMONIES ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS

A STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR 1909

With the world hungering for righteousness, and thirsting for the love and sympathy which belongs to brotherliness, the first Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals in session in Philadelphia April 30, 1909, expresses its firm conviction that the time has come for definite and united efforts to benefit the world, with such purpose overshadowing differences of creed or diversity of belief.

To this end we declare it our purpose by the presentation of ideals, by the appeal to public sentiment, by efforts to secure the enactment of law, where law may help, and by the employment of all possible orderly and constructive efforts to make it easier for men to do right, and more and more possible for our humanity to reach its divinely ordered estate.

With an acknowledgment of the intellectual, moral and spiritual uplift which has come to us during these three days of communion; with an added appreciation of the good thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity; we hereby express our desire for a second Congress at such time and place as the executive committee, in consultation with the members of the Federation, may determine.

Whereas, The first Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals is meeting in Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, the City of William Penn's Holy Experiment, at a time in the world's history when there is a great and fruitful promise that William Penn's ideal of international arbitration by means of a Court of Arbitral Justice can be speedily realized by the nations:

Be it resolved, That the said Congress urge upon our American Government its opportunity of fulfilling the aspiration of generations of the best American citizens by enacting the role of

UNIVERSITY

Peace Maker among the nations, by pushing forward in every pacific way the positive programme for the realization of universal peace adopted by the two Hague Conferences, and especially by the promotion of the Court of Arbitral Justice.

And whereas, Both reason and experience prove beyond the shadow of a reasonable doubt that increasing armaments are inevitably and irresistibly opposed to increasing arbitration.

Be it further resolved by the said Congress, That our American Government be urgently requested to enter upon negotiations with the governments of the other nations to bring about an international agreement for the limitation of armaments, and thus to lift from the people's backs an oppressive, increasing and iniquitous burden, as well as to remove the chief obstacle from the path of international arbitration.

We, members of many different American denominations, assembled in the National Federation of Religious Liberals at Philadelphia, desire to express our deep concern over the present conditions in Turkey and its dependencies.

Assuming that the terrible reports recently received of the massacre of many thousands of Christians by fanatical and misguided Moslems are correct, we can find no words to express the intensity of our horror and indignation at such crimes against humanity.

In all tenderness we sympathize with the endangered Christian missionaries. At the same time we recognize that there are high-minded Moslems, and we would express our hearty interest in all their efforts for the reformation of their government and the improvement of their people.

Therefore, be it resolved, That we respectfully urge the President and Congress of the United States to do all that may be possible towards rebuking these atrocious crimes, and towards preventing their repetition.

Resolved, That this Federation expresses its hearty sympathy with all persons in all walks of life who are engaged in efforts for human betterment.

Resolved, That especially we pledge our support to those who

seek the abolition of the child-labor evil, the overthrow of the "sweating system," the establishment of the living wage as the minimum in any industry, and the protection of the workers from dangerous machinery and unsanitary conditions of employment.

Whereas, The traditions of this house, embodied in the practice of the Society of Friends and nobly and sweetly set forth by Lucretia Mott and other true men and women, are wholly for equality of opportunity and service for men and women.

And Whereas, Freedom of thought creates and should go hand in hand with freedom of service.

Resolved, That this body places itself on record as believing in political equality for men and women; that women and men should receive equal protection from and recognize an equal duty to the State; and that to this end the ballot should be granted to women on equal terms with men.

The Congress refers to the executive committee, with the promise of our support and approval, the devising and working out of plans for the employment and support of a physician who shall render skilled public service in some foreign land, if in the judgment of the committee plans for his labor seem right, wise and practical; the only requirement of such missionary being ability and a willingness to do good.

Acknowledgments. The thanks of the National Federation of Religious Liberals are returned to the monthly meeting of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia for the use of their Meeting House during the sessions of this Congress, and for their unremitting and generous activity for the success of our gathering, and the comfort and welfare of the speakers and members of the Federation.

We would acknowledge especially the large-hearted hospitality of the member of the Society of Friends to whom we are indebted for the delightful reception at the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford, on Wednesday evening last.

Our gratitude is due also to the American Unitarian Association for its large contribution towards the preliminary expenses of the

organization, as well as for the services of its international and interdenominational Secretary, Rev. Charles W. Wendte, in this connection.

The Congress furthermore returns its thanks to the officers and committees who have labored so faithfully and effectively for the success of these meetings, especially to Henry W. Wilbur, its President, and to its Secretary and Treasurer; to the denominational and other journals which have heralded and encouraged its formation; to the newspaper press which has reported its proceedings; and to all friends of our Congress who have contributed by generous gifts and efficient service to insure the realization of this endeavor to unite the religious liberals of the United States in testimony and service for their common principles and ideals.

It was voted that the present Executive Committee of twenty-five be continued; that Rev. Charles W. Wendte of Boston act as Secretary to the Federation and Henry Justice of Philadelphia as Treasurer. Furthermore, that Henry W. Wilbur continue to serve as President until the next Congress, when a local chairman is to be chosen by the organizations which have invited the Federation to their city.

The place of the next meeting was referred to the Executive Committee with power to act.

It was voted that the Proceedings of this First Congress of Religious Liberals be published in pamphlet form for wider distribution, and that a copy be sent to every member of the Federation.

First Topic of the Congress,

"RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP"

WELCOME BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS, HENRY W. WILBUR, OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, PHILADELPHIA:

Assembling in this plain place of worship, you will miss the blare of the trumpets and the playing of the harpers, and many other spectacular features which are to be found elsewhere. We have none of these things, but such as we have, give we unto you. We wish it understood, however, that the welcome is none the less cordial because of the lack of outward demonstration. We trust that you will feel at home with us, and whatever we can do for your comfort and happiness we will cheerfully perform.

Near where the chairman now stands in this meeting house, one of the gentlest spirits and broadest thinkers of our religious body for twenty years delivered her testimony to the truth. On what we call the men's side of the gallery was the associate of this gifted woman. In their day it would have delighted the hearts of Lucretia Mott and George Truman to see this company of people, representing different communions, gathered to consider the vital interests of the truth under the roof-tree of the Religious Society in which both these ministers lived and labored. In their name, in the name of all the spirits of just men and women made perfect who have struggled and labored and passed on, and in the name of the broader brotherhood of our time, I bid you welcome to this house, which this year celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of its occupation as a place of worship.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, REV. CHARLES W. WENDTE, BOSTON, SECRETARY OF THE CONGRESS:

On the water-gate of the great world's fair in Chicago was graven this sentence: "Toleration in Religion the best fruit of the nineteenth century." This sentiment, which is said to have been

framed by President Eliot of Harvard University, admirably embodies the lesson of history and the spirit of our meeting this evening. Of all the evils which have arisen from man's ignorance and unreasoning hatred, the worst are those which have resulted from religious bigotry and intolerance. From the latter have sprung the terrible persecutions which in all ages and systems of faith have brought unspeakable suffering and misery upon the human race, arrested the free development of truth, and rendered nugatory the beneficent influence of religion itself.

What a terrible misconception was this of the spirit of true religion, and of the teachings of the Founder of Christianity, who said: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, that ye have love one toward another."

Nothing so truly measures the progress of mankind as the increasing tolerance manifested among modern and civilized nations, and which is so characteristic of our own time and country. In America to-day the reign of fire and sword in religion is over; the era of reason and conscience, of sympathetic justice and good will has begun. Catholics and Protestants, Calvinists and Socinians, Christians and Jews, live together in comparative harmony, and mutually respect, even if they do not always share, each others opinions. The last stronghold of intolerance, the prejudice of race, is undermined and gradually disappearing. The creeds of the churches may not have changed to any great extent; it is the spirit of the age which has changed. Men have come, through sad experiences, to learn the folly and futility of persecution, the waste and wickedness of war for opinion's sake. They have come to recognize that goodness is of no sect, that character is above creed, life more important than thought. Love, not intolerant hatred, is the master-passion of our age, the common brotherhood of man the ideal of its religion.

With the growth of republican institutions there has come into birth a new sentiment of personal independence. Finally, science has entered the field as a great emancipator, enlarging and broadening men's minds and teaching the relativity of all truth. In the dawning of this twentieth century, liberty of thought and speech, tolerance to others' opinions, breadth and liberality of mind, are distinguishing characteristics of the best and most influential elements of American society.

Not that displays of intolerance have entirely ceased among us. The instances of racial antipathy and religious prejudice are too numerous and too recent to enable us to make that assertion. But we may claim that they are greatly modified in intensity, and are comparatively harmless. They are in no instance representative of our American people, as a whole. When they are exhibited, the leading voices among us are raised in condemnation, and the nation promptly disowns and suppresses them. For we live in a tolerant age; we are a people which has a passion for freedom of thought and speech, for justice and equal rights. It is to newly vindicate these ideals of American society, to protest against any attempts to revive among us the racial and religious bigotry which disfigured other and earlier epochs of human history, that this congress has been called. This opening meeting, especially, is to be devoted to the affirmation that mutual tolerance and goodwill between all classes, races and churches of the republic is a fundamental condition of our religious and civil welfare. The eminent speakers who are to address you represent creeds and churches widely divergent in their antecedents and opinions. From them you will learn anew that differences of religious belief form no necessary barrier to mutual consideration and good-will, to a common love of country, and the faithful and equal performance of the duties of good citizenship.

THE JEW AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP

RABBI DAVID PHILIPSON, D.D., OF CINCINNATI

In length of residence and active participation in every struggle for the welfare of the country, the story of the Jew in America equals in interest that of any other religious denomination. The Jew in the United States is American to the core, and has entered with his fellow-citizens of every faith and opinion, who understand the principles upon which our American institutions rest, into the true spirit of this government, which (in the words written by George Washington, in answer to a congratulatory address directed to him by the Jewish congregation of Newport, R. I.), "gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assist-

ance, and requires only that those who live under its protection shall demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

The discovery of America. Jews were instrumental in making the voyage of Columbus possible. Negotiations between the navigator and Ferdinand and Isabella, the King and Queen of Spain, had been suspended when the Jewish favorite of Ferdinand, Luis de Santangel, chancellor of the royal household of Aragon, induced them to lend favorable consideration once again to the appeal of Columbus. He himself advanced 17,000 ducats out of his own fortune, for which he would not accept interest, toward fitting out Columbus' first expedition. The discovery of this fact has destroyed the century-old legend that Queen Isabella pawned her jewels to secure the money for the equipment of the expedition of Columbus, and led the late Prof. Herbert B. Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University, to coin the epigram, "Not jewels, but Jews, were the real financial basis for the first expedition of Columbus." It was undoubtedly because of the assistance given him by Santangel that Columbus wrote him the first detailed account of his voyage. This was in the form of a letter written by Columbus on February 15, 1493, from the Azores, where the navigator stopped on his homeward voyage.

The first European who set foot on American soil was a Jew by birth, Luis de Torres, the interpreter of the expedition of Columbus. He settled in Cuba and lived there the remainder of his life. He was the first European to discover the use of tobacco.

Dr. M. Kayserling, who pointed out these facts in his book, "Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries," mentions a number of other persons of Jewish descent among those who sailed with Columbus on his epoch-making voyage, viz.: Alonzo de la Calle, Rodrigo Sanchez, and Maestre Bernal, the ship's surgeon.

Early Jewish settlers. The first Jewish arrivals in the New World settled in South America, and the islands of the southern sea. But we are concerned here with the story of the Jews in the United States, and therefore must dismiss with this mere

mention all reference to the settling of Jews in other portions of the western hemisphere.

In 1654, thirty-four years after the Mayflower landed the Pilgrim fathers at Plymouth, Mass., the St. Caterina arrived at New Amsterdam (the present New York) with twenty-three Jews on board, who in all likelihood came from Brazil, which country the Jews left when it passed from the possession of the Dutch to the Portuguese. Shortly before the arrival of this band of Jewish pilgrims, the first Jews known to have arrived at New Amsterdam, came on the ship Pear Tree. These were Jacob Barsimson and Jacob Aboab. It is quite likely that even before this, stray individual Jews may have found their way to some portions or other of the country.

These first Jewish arrivals did not secure the permission to settle in New Amsterdam without difficulty. Governor Peter Stuyvesant was much opposed to them and desired to expel them, and it was only after the directors of the Dutch East India Company in Holland espoused the cause of the new comers that he receded from his position.

The most masterful of these first settlers was Asser Levy. He made the first fight for the rights of citizenship. In 1655 an ordinance was passed that no Jews be permitted to serve in the militia, but that in lieu of this they be taxed sixty-five stivers each per month. Asser Levy refused to pay this tax and petitioned the council for permission to perform military duty like all the other citizens of the colony, or else to be relieved from paying the tax. His petition was rejected. He seems then to have appealed to the authorities in Holland and they appear to have granted his petition, for we find that he did perform guard duty like other citizens. He continued to fight the cause of equal rights for the Jews, for eventually Stuyvesant and the council granted them burgher rights.

New Amsterdam having passed from the possession of the Dutch to the British, its citizens were required to take the oath of abjuration. The General Assembly of New York passed an act on November 15, 1727, to the effect that when this oath was taken by a Jew the words "upon the true faith of a Christian" might be omitted.

In 1658 fifteen Jewish families arrived at Newport, R. I., from Holland. This community grew apace until in time it became very prosperous. In 1763 it built the handsome synagogue which is still standing. The congregation was disorganized at the time of the Revolution, when a large number of the Jews who sympathized with the patriot cause left the city upon its capture by the British. Aaron Lopez, the foremost member of the community, with seventy others, removed to Leicester, Mass., where Lopez founded the Leicester Academy.

Mention of Jews in Pennsylvania occurs for the first time in 1657, but there were no Jews in considerable numbers until the following century. The first Jewish name met with in the annals of Philadelphia is that of Jonas Aaron, 1703. Jews assembled for religious service in Philadelphia about 1745. There were Jewish settlements elsewhere also in Pennsylvania; Joseph Simon arrived in Lancaster in 1740; Meyer Hart was one of the founders of the town of Easton in 1747; and Aaron Levy arrived in Northumberland county in 1760; he became a large landowner, and the town of Aaronsburg, which he assisted in laying out, was named for him.

The interesting character, Dr. Jacob Lombrozo, "the Jew doctor," is first mentioned in Maryland archives in 1657; he was one of the earliest medical practitioners in Maryland; letters of denization were issued to him investing him with all the privileges of a native or a naturalized subject; he owned a plantation in Charles county along Naugeny Creek.

Occasional mention dating from the close of the seventeenth century is made of Jews in South Carolina (Simon Valentine, in 1695) but they did not arrive in numbers till after 1740. The first congregation dates from 1750.

The Colony of Georgia was settled in the year 1733. In July of that same year a company of forty Jews arrived. Jews may therefore be considered in the light of original settlers of the colony; in truth they constituted one-third of the inhabitants of the colony. The first native Georgian is said to have been Philip Minis, the first Jewish child born in the colony. In the general conveyance of town lots, gardens, and farms, executed December 21, 1733, we find among the grantees the names of

seven Jews. These original settlers demeaned themselves in such fashion that Georgia's authoritative historian, Charles J. Jones, says of them, in his history of Georgia: "In the record of the Jews of the Colony of Georgia, there is no stain."

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. In all the wars of the country, Jews have taken prominent and honorable part. How great this participation was, has been made clear by Mr. Simon Wolf, of Washington, in his book, "The American Jew as Patriot, Citizen, and Soldier," the immediate occasion of whose compilation was the slanderous charge made by a writer in the North American Review of December, 1891, that no Jews had served in the Civil War.

Beginning with the Revolutionary struggle, Jews have fought on all the battlefields where patriots gave their lives that the country might live. A brief resumé of this record will prove of interest.

The first step which led eventually to the War of the Revolution was the signing of the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765 by merchants of the Colonies. Among these signers were nine Jews. Citizens of the Colony of Georgia issued a protest against the blockade of Boston Harbor and taxation without representation; this was signed by the prominent citizens of the Colony; among the signatures appear the names of two Jews.

Among the foremost citizens of South Carolina at this period was a Jew, Francis Salvador. He was a member of the provincial Congress of the Colony which assembled at Charleston, January 11, 1775. He signed, on the part of the patriots of South Carolina, a compact between the Tories and the patriots. He was also a member of the second provincial Congress which assembled in Charleston in November, 1775. He was killed on an expedition against the Tories and Indians on August 1, 1776.

The records of the Revolutionary army are incomplete; there is no way of discovering how many fought in the colonial armies. Of the list of Jew soldiers whose names have been preserved a large proportion are officers. The names of twenty-seven of these officers are given. It is more than likely that the names of many Jewish privates are unknown, for the number of officers is disproportionately large. Among these officers special mention

may be made of Col. David S. Franks, Col. Solomon Bush, Col. Isaac Franks, Major Benjamin Nones, Capt. Jacob de la Motta, Lieut. Abraham Seixas, and Lieut. David Sarzedas.

The company of the Charles Town (Charlestown), S. C., regiment of militia, commanded by Captain Richard Lushington, included twenty-six Jews.

Esther Hays was a Jewish heroine of the Revolution. Her husband, David Hays, was in the patriot army; she was left with her children in the home in Bedford, Westchester County, New York. In July, 1779, Tories entered her home while she was lying ill, and demanded of her information concerning the patriot plans which she was supposed to possess. When she refused, her home was fired; she and her children were saved by a faithful negro servant.

The Jewish congregation of New York, led by its patriot rabbi, Gershom Mendes Seixas, disbanded when the British approached the city. Mr. Seixas left New York and, after a brief sojourn at Stratford, Conn., removed to Philadelphia, taking with him the sacred belongings of the synagogue. Quite a number of the patriot Jews who had left New York on the approach of the British had settled in Philadelphia, and desiring to organize a congregation, induced Mr. Seixas to come to Philadelphia for this purpose. He did so, and organized with them the Mickve Israel congregation. In 1784 he returned to New York, where he continued to be a prominent figure; he was trustee of King's (now Columbia) College. In 1789, at the inauguration of President Washington, he participated in the ceremonies together with thirteen ministers of other creeds.

Haym Salomon rendered invaluable financial services to the government during the darkest days of the Revolutionary War. He was the chief individual reliance of Robert Morris, the Government's Superintendent of Finance. In Morris' diary, in which he recorded his financial transactions, Salomon's name appears seventy-five times. The sums advanced by Salomon in aid of the Government aggregated apparently 200,000 dollars.

Another Jew, Isaac Moses, helped out Robert Morris by pledging 3,000 pounds to the patriot cause.

Philip Minis advanced 7,000 dollars towards paying the troops of Virginia and North Carolina in the State of Georgia.

The services of the Jews at this critical time, when the whole Jewish population was scarcely three thousand, were referred to by Col. J. W. D. Worthington, in 1824, during the deliberations of the Maryland Legislature on the so-called Jew Bill, in these words, "There were many valuable Jewish members, officers principally, in the Revolution, from the South chiefly, and these were ever at their post and always foremost in hazardous enterprises."

Other wars. Just as Jews fought side by side with their fellow-citizens of other faiths in the War of the Revolution, so also were they at the front in all the other wars which have been waged in defence of their country. The lists of Jews who fought in the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Civil War on both sides, can be found in the book of Simon Wolfe, already referred to, while the list of the Jewish soldiers in the Spanish War, which was fought after the publication of this book, is given in the American Jewish Year Book for 1900-01, published by the Jewish Publication Society of America.

Forty-three Jews are recorded in the War of 1812, among them, Brigadier-General Joseph Bloomfield, Col. Nathan Myers, Captains Myer Moses and Mordecai Myers, and Captain Levi Charles Harby, who fought also in the Mexican War and the Seminole War in Florida.

Fifty-seven Jews are recorded in the Mexican War, among them, General David de Leon, who received the thanks of Congress twice for his gallantry; David S. Kauffman, aide to Gen. Douglas, who, as speaker of the Texas Assembly, had advocated annexation to the United States, and who served in the United States Congress as representative from Texas from the date of annexation to his death, in 1851; Lieut. Henry Seeligson, who bore himself so well in the battle of Monterey that Gen. Taylor sent for him and complimented him highly. In Baltimore, a volunteer corps of Jews was organized in July, 1846, for service in this war.

In the Civil War the records of soldiers who fought on both sides are better kept than in the earlier wars. From these rec-

ords it appears that over 7,500 Jews fought in the Northern and Southern armies, a larger number in proportion to the number of Jews who were then in the United States, about 150,000, than was furnished by any other religious denomination; seven Jews received medals of honor from Congress for conspicuous gallantry. Of staff officers who were Jews, forty are mentioned; there were eleven Jewish naval officers. There were nine generals, eighteen colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, forty majors, two hundred and four captains, three hundred and twenty-five lieutenants, forty-eight adjutants, and twenty-five surgeons of the Jewish faith. Where so many brave men on both sides performed conspicuous deeds of gallantry, it were invidious to single out any for special mention; I must therefore content myself with referring any that desire further detailed information to Mr. Wolf's book and Volumes three, four, six, and twelve of the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.

For the Spanish-American War, 2,451 Jews enlisted in the army, and forty-two in the navy; thirty-two were officers.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Wolf, Gen. O. O. Howard, Major-General of the United States Army, wrote, "I can assure you, my dear sir, that intrinsically, there are no more patriotic men to be found in the country than those who claim to be of Hebrew descent, and who served under me in parallel commands or more directly under my instructions."

Presidents and Jews. When Washington was inaugurated as the first President of the United States, the Jewish congregations of Savannah, Ga., Newport, R. I., and Philadelphia, New York, Richmond, and Charleston, addressed letters of congratulation to him. Several extracts from Washington's answers to these letters are here given:

"I rejoice that a spirit of liberality and philanthropy is much more prevalent than it formerly was among the enlightened nations of the earth, and that your brethren will benefit thereby in proportion as it shall become still more extensive."

"The liberality of sentiment toward each other, which marks every political and religious denomination of men in this country, stands unparalleled in the history of nations."

Major Mordecai M. Noah delivered an address at the con-

secration of the Mill Street Synagogue, New York, in 1818. He sent copies of this address to ex-President John Adams, Jefferson, and Madison.

Jefferson wrote in reply: "Your sect, by its sufferings, has furnished a remarkable proof of the universal spirit of religious intolerance inherent in every sect, disclaimed by all while feeble, and practiced by all when in power. Our laws have applied the only antidote to this vice, protecting our religious as they do our civil rights by putting all on an equal footing. But more remains to be done, for although we are free by the law, we are not so in practice."

Adams wrote: "You have not extended your ideas of the rights of private judgment and the liberty of conscience, both in religion and philosophy, farther than I do. Mine are limited only by morals and propriety."

Madison said, among other things: "Having ever regarded the freedom of religious opinions and worship as equally belonging to every sect, and the secure enjoyment of it as the best human provision for bringing all, either unto the same way of thinking, or unto that mutual charity which is the only proper substitute, I observe with pleasure the view you give of the spirit in which your sect partake of the common blessings afforded by our Government and laws."

Madison wrote similarly in acknowledgment of the copy of a discourse delivered by Dr. de la Motta at the consecration of the synagogue at Savannah in 1820. "Among the features peculiar to the political system of the United States," wrote he, "is the perfect equality of rights which it secures to every religious sect. And it is particularly pleasing to observe in the citizenship of such as have been most distrusted and oppressed elsewhere, a happy illustration of the safety and success of this experiment of a just and benignant policy. Equal laws, protecting equal rights, are found, as they ought to be presumed, the best guarantee of loyalty and love of country; as well as best calculated to cherish the mutual respect and good-will among citizens of every religious denomination which are necessary to social harmony and most favorable to the advancement of truth."

The notorious Damascus affair of 1840 took place during the

administration of Van Buren. In a letter addressed by John Forsyth, Secretary of State, to David Porter, United States Minister to Turkey, instructing him to use his good offices with the Sultan in behalf of the accused Jews, occur these words: "The President is of the opinion that from no one can such generous endeavors proceed with so much propriety and effect as from the representative of a friendly power, whose institutions, political and civil, place upon the same footing the worshiper of God of every faith and form, acknowledging no distinction between the Mohammedan, the Jew, and the Christian."

President Tyler, in a letter to Joseph Simpson, of Baltimore, Md., wrote: "The United States Government have adventured upon a great and noble experiment, which is believed to have been hazarded in the absence of all previous precedent — that of the total separation of Church and State. No religious establishment by law exists among us. The conscience is left free from all restraint and each is permitted to worship his Maker after his own judgment. The offices of the Government are open alike to all. No tithes are levied to support an established hierarchy, nor is the fallible judgment of man set up as the sure and infallible creed of faith."

When the famous order No. 11, commanding the expulsion of Jews from his department was issued by Gen. Grant, President Lincoln ordered it revoked as soon as it was brought to his notice. Although we have not the President's own words, his biographers Hay and Nicolai refer to the incident as follows: "Lincoln had a profound respect for every form of sincere religious belief. He steadily refused to show any favor to any particular denomination of Christians, and when General Grant issued an unjust and injurious order against the Jews expelling them from his department, the President ordered it to be revoked the moment it was brought to his notice."

In his address at the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in this country, ex-President Grover Cleveland used these words: "It is time for the unreserved acknowledgment that the toleration and equal opportunity accorded to the Jews of the United States have been abundantly repaid to us. And in making up the accounts, let

us not omit to put to their credit the occasion presented to us through our concession to them of toleration and equality, for strengthening, by wholesome exercise, the spirit of broadminded justice and consideration, which, as long as we are true to ourselves, we must inflexibly preserve as the distinguishing and saving traits of our nationality."

"I know that human prejudice — especially that growing out of race and religion — is cruelly inveterate and lasting. But wherever in the world prejudice against the Jews still exists, there can be no place for it among the people of the United States unless they are heedless of good faith, recreant to the underlying principles of their free government, and insensible to every pledge involved in our boasted equality of citizenship."

President Roosevelt, in a letter addressed to the presiding officer of this same celebration, wrote:

"The celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States properly emphasizes a series of historical facts of more than merely national significance. Even in our colonial period the Jews participated in the upbuilding of this country, acquired citizenship, and took an active part in the development of foreign and domestic commerce. During the Revolutionary period they aided the cause of liberty by serving in the Continental army, and by substantial contributions to the empty treasury of the infant Republic. During the Civil War, thousands served in the armies and mingled their blood with the soil for which they fought."

I would refer the reader who desires further information on the subject to the fifteenth volume of the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, entitled, "Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States," compiled by the President of the Society, Dr. Cyrus Adler, and to the article, "The American Passport in Russia," also by Dr. Adler, in the Year Book of the Jewish Publication Society of America for 1904-5.

Some miscellaneous items. The first statue to belong to the United States was a bronze statue of Thomas Jefferson by the French sculptor, David d'Angers. This was presented to the

United States by the Jewish naval officer, Lieutenant (later Commodore) Uriah P. Levy, who at the time of his death, in 1862, was the highest ranking officer in the U. S. Navy, and formally accepted by Congress, on motion of Charles Sumner.

Judah Touro, the famous Jewish philanthropist, contributed ten thousand dollars towards the Bunker Hill monument fund.

The Order of B'nai Brith erected in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, the group Religious Liberty, by the sculptor Moses Ezekiel, in 1876, in celebration of the centennial of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Jews of New York in 1711 contributed five pounds, twelve shillings, towards building the steeple of Trinity Church; the name of Abraham de Lucena occurs in the list of donors.

One of the original band of settlers of Georgia was Dr. Samuel Nunez Ribiero, who placed his medical knowledge at the service of the colonists. Governor Oglethorpe called the attention of the trustees of the Colony to the voluntary services of the physician, whereupon the trustees requested the Governor to offer him a gratuity for these services.

The organization of the Union Society, famous in the annals of the Colony of Georgia, and later of the State, dates from the year 1750, when five of the colonists, all of different religious denominations, joined in organizing a society for charitable purposes. They called it the "Union Society" to designate that though the founders differed in their special religious beliefs they could yet join on the broad platform of humanity. The names of three of the founders have been preserved: Benjamin Sheftall, a Jew; Peter Toudee, a Catholic, and Richard Milledge, an Episcopalian. This society is still in existence and continues along the lines marked out by its founders.

Abraham Kohn, of Chicago, sent to Abraham Lincoln, before his departure for Washington to assume the office of the Presidency of the United States, a silk American flag of his own manufacture, whose folds were inscribed in Hebrew lettering with the third to the ninth verses of the first chapter of the Biblical Book of Joshua, which closed with the enheartening words so appropriate to the task before Lincoln: "Have I not commanded

thee? Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed, for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest."

The attempt has been made herein to give some salient facts concerning the good citizenship of the Jew in America. The writer has been compelled to sift a great mass of material and select such facts and incidents as seemed to him most significant. Had he had the space he should have written in detail concerning the settlement, history, and services of Jews in all the States of the Union. In the Cabinet, in the National Senate and House of Representatives, in the diplomatic service, in State Legislatures, on the Bench, in Federal, State, and Municipal offices hundreds of Jews have served and are serving the Federal Government, their States, and municipalities.

The story of the internal development of Jewish religious, educational, and philanthropic life as recorded in the widely ramified activities of synagogues and religious schools, theological seminaries and rabbinical conferences, orphan asylums and industrial schools, homes for the aged and the child, hospitals and homes for incurables, settlements and educational institutes, publication and historical societies, colonization and agricultural aid associations, it is not the purpose of this paper to rehearse. The same may be said of the religious currents and cross-currents, reform and orthodoxy.

Surely the retrospect over the life of the Jews in America during the past two hundred and fifty-five years justified the tribute of Theodore Roosevelt, who once expressed himself to the following effect:

"I am glad to be able to say that while the Jews of the United States, who now number more than a million, have remained loyal to their faith and their race traditions, they have become indissolubly incorporated in the great army of American citizenship, prepared to make all sacrifices for the country, either in war or peace, and striving for the perpetuation of good government and for the maintenance of the principles embodied in our Constitution. They are honorably distinguished by their industry, their obedience to law, and their devotion to the national welfare."

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, OF BALTIMORE, MD.

A favorite device for one seeking to hide the truth from his own conscience, when he would do or say or think what he knows to be wrong, is to repeat to himself and others what, in one sense, is true, but wholly irrelevant, and reason from it in another sense wherein it may be relevant, but is wholly untrue. For example, one hears often in my native State and those to the southward: "Ours is a white man's country." In a sense, so it is; for not only are the great majority of Americans to-day white men, but America is what it is because white men have made our laws, created our customs, fixed our standards of taste and morals,— in short, given form and breadth to our national life. Beyond any reasonable doubt, America would have been a vastly different country had it been founded and ruled by black men or red men, yellow men or brown men. But to argue from this fact that white Americans may, with a clear conscience, rob black Americans of their votes or red Americans of their lands, or treat men of any race or color, whether Americans or not, with barbarity and oppression, all this is the basest sophistry. Justice and fair dealing towards all men, loyalty to our Constitution, and respect for rights made sacred by our laws, such should be the proofs that this *is* a white man's country, that men dwell in it and rule it who are white in something beyond the color of their skins.

So it is often said, "Ours is a Christian country;" and in a sense this is said with truth. America is what it is very largely because our laws and government, our morals and manners, our beliefs as to what we live for and how we should live have all been the work of Christians. Again, it surely would have been another country altogether had these been fashioned by Brahmins or Buddhists, disciples of Confucius or followers of Mohammed. But, when Americans in name and Christians in name would abridge the rights and invade the civil and religious liberty of other Americans because these are not Christians this proves

only that they are themselves neither Americans nor Christians in more than name. What must one think of Christians who do unto others what they would hold a grievous wrong if done by others unto them.

In like manner certain of our fellow-citizens frequently repeat with an emphasis, which was once complacent, but now grows daily more uneasy and querulous, "Ours is a Protestant country." This statement is by no means so obviously true as either of the two preceding; or, at all events, the sense in which it is true is more restricted and far less material. No one can reasonably doubt that the United States would have had a widely different history and would be now a widely different nation had all, or even a majority, of the thirteen colonies been peopled by Mongols or Malays, Mussulmans or agnostics; but, if a majority, or even all, of the thirteen colonies had been peopled by English Catholics, such as Lord Baltimore sent to Maryland, professing his principles and ruled by his laws, it is a matter of pure conjecture how far, if at all, we should have had a materially different history or be to-day a materially different people. Nevertheless, I think the most of those who say what I have just quoted mean more than that a majority of the American people to-day profess in some form to belong to some denomination of Protestant Christians. They give a belated utterance to an opinion widely prevalent, indeed well-nigh universal, among Protestants, and, in truth, shared by not a few Catholics, fifty years ago or even later. "Undoubtedly," said the New York *Nation* in its issue of Jan. 30, 1868, "political equality, free public education under Protestant auspices, and a national rule which compels sectarian toleration, are forces which must in time either destroy Catholicism in this country or essentially change its nature." There was nothing strange or unusual then in these views: that the United States was and would remain a Protestant country seemed, to some within, no less than practically all those without the Catholic church, almost a matter of course even forty years ago. It was assumed, complacently or regretfully, as the case might be, but practically assumed by many, if not by all. True, *Nous avons changé tout cela,* or, rather, all has been changed, not by us, or, consciously and of

set purpose, by any one, but through the silent workings of time and human experience. The mustard seed planted when Archbishop Carroll received his episcopal consecration fell on no ungrateful, no alien soil. Men have slowly, often reluctantly, learned this as they saw a stately tree with deep roots and spreading branches grow from that seed and overshadow them. As to this, we Catholics had no right to complain of public opinion: our fellow-citizens of other faiths thought of us much as we thought of ourselves. If to some few of them, even now, an American Catholic seems in some sort a contradiction in terms, a few, if but a few, of both our own clergy and of our own laity are still rubbing their eyes to be sure that such a person is not in some sort an impostor, that he is truly a Catholic while no less truly an American.

There is doubtless some measure of justification for this frame of mind in both cases. In the immense mass of foreign matter absorbed by the American body politic certain Catholic elements have been, perhaps, the least rapidly digested in the gastric juice of our free institutions, and are responsible for the most acute symptoms of our political dyspepsia. To discuss all the reasons for this seeming fact would tempt me into too wide a digression, but I may glance at one of the most obvious and most potent; namely, the great disproportion in numbers between the Catholic population of the emancipated colonies and the multitudes of Catholic immigrants to be fashioned on its model. No Protestant communion native to the United States has had to transform from aliens into citizens so vast a number of its members, and I doubt if any, even the humblest, among these communions undertook the task so weak and so poor and so widely dispersed.

The foundation laid, fourteen years after the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth, when a handful of exiles raised the cross at St. Mary's, has had to bear a gigantic superstructure beneath whose weight it might well have crumbled had it been built by hands. When he reflects how vast has been the work of assimilation and inspiration imposed on the little body of American Catholics who greeted their first bishop in 1789, and then recognizes how thoroughly and how rapidly, on the whole, and bearing in mind all the circumstances, that work has been and

is done, far from marvelling at its present incompleteness, any fair-minded man will find his faith revived and strengthened in the boundless potency for good stored in our orderly freedom, any man believing as I do will see a further and greater cause for thankfulness and hope. He will feel assured for the future, as he has known in the past, the proven and abiding guidance of Almighty God.

If the notion that the Catholic Church is a stranger and a sojourner in our land has not been wholly outgrown even by quite all of her own children this is because even now some Catholics have but half learned, although they are every day learning more thoroughly and more and more rapidly, that they are Americans, and not Irishmen or Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, or Poles; *not,* understand me well, Americans *first* and some sort of foreigners afterwards, but Americans first, last, and all the time, and nothing else *at all,* at least in a sense which would make them any the less Americans. No man can really have two countries any more than he can faithfully serve two masters. A hybrid type of citizenship will be always and everywhere ephemeral and sterile: a great Nation like ours can tolerate no divided allegiance; those who would be hers at all must be hers altogether. Where a man was born she has, indeed, never been over-curious to ask. Alexander Hamilton and Albert Gallatin are no more her stepchildren than great (to the *n*th power) grand-children of the Mayflower's passengers; but no one is or can be an American citizen, in the full and true sense of the word, who feels himself an Irishman or a German or anything else, except as George Washington or John Adams might have felt himself an Englishman or (to compare a very small person to great ones) I might feel myself a Corsican.

I say this, of course, subject to all reasonable qualifications. No civilized man, certainly no Christian can be indifferent to the good or ill fortune of any branch of the human family, and the land where one's kindred dwell, where one's parents are buried where one's childhood was spent, must be, to a man of ordinary sentiments, something more than a red or blue patch on the map. I have no quarrel with those who, on the shores of New England, in the shadow of the Alleghanies, by the

Mississipppi or the Great Lakes or the far Pacific, remember to honor Saint Patrick or Saint George or Saint Andrew or Saint Boniface or Saint Wenceslaus, if the last is the saint I mean, and if I have his name aright; I would put no prohibitory tariff on foreign sanctity, the production of the domestic article will not be checked by its importation, nor will the supply exceed the demand. As our country makes her own one band of immigrants after another, she takes with them their traditions and their ideals, their memories and their hopes, to blend these in the moral and intellectual heritage of all her children. But whilst I think only the better of a fellow-citizen because his birthplace or that of his fathers yet claims his sympathies and shares his affections I hold him as yet unworthy to be held an American if he has still to learn that here and here only are all his interests and all his duties.

But, although men may perhaps be found who even yet think, as some sensible men thought twenty-five and many more fifty years ago, that the atmosphere of American liberty is malarial to the Church of Rome, who believe that in it she lives but to languish, and who still strain their eyes hoping to see her cease to be what she has ever been or else cease to be at all in their sight, a fair-minded and well-informed American, whatever his creed, must now realize that the Catholic Church in the United States becomes every day more thoroughly acclimated and at home, that she is no carpet-bagger, that her cross is planted to stand.

On Nov. 6, 1789 a bull of Pope Pius VI. founded the American hierarchy. At that date the Catholic population of the United States was estimated, probably too liberally, at forty thousand, or about the one hundredth part of our entire people. There were in all some thirty priests, hardly so many chapels, no edifice which could, with any propriety of language be called a church, not one asylum or hospital or other benevolent institution, and but a single school or seat of learning of any class,— Georgetown College, then just founded. There are now several times as many bishops as there were then priests, more priests than there were then adult male laymen, more churches than there were Catholic families in the thirteen States in 1789, convents

and monasteries, schools and colleges, asylums and hospitals, of which the combined means of the entire Catholic population of those days could not have built a tenth. It is true that within the past century and a quarter the growth of this country has been marvellous, but the growth of the Catholic Church in this country has been far more marvellous: while the number of American citizens has increased some twenty or twenty-five fold, the number of American Catholics has increased nearly or quite four hundred fold. If an amazing progress in numbers and wealth were sufficient, the Catholic Church's vitality in America would need no further proof. But for some this may not be enough, for there might be in this very prodigious outward development the germ of a deep inward decay. Doubtless to feel as well assured as I feel that the Catholic Church is here to stay and to prosper, one must perhaps believe as I believe; but surely any man able to see things at all as they are, and having any knowledge of the facts, will recognize that nowhere in the Christian world is there greater zeal or greater harmony in the Catholic Church than here; nowhere are the relations of the hierarchy with the See of Rome, of the clergy with the hierarchy, of the laity with the clergy, more nearly what devout Catholics could reasonably wish them to be, and those of the Church with the civil power and of her members with citizens of other faiths, marked by less bitterness and less friction. Blind men may argue whether the Catholic Church can live in the United States; but, for those who have eyes and can and will open them to the truth, that question is a question no longer. If they see anything, they see that she can live because she has lived and lives to-day,— lives, too, not as a sickly exotic. She grows and flourishes and waxes strong with a sound and healthy growth, gaining, not in mere size, but in vigor, daily; in short, she is and feels herself to be at home. If we apply to the sum of American institutions the vague and much abused term "liberty," a century's history proves that liberty is good for the Catholic Church; and, if it has "essentially changed the nature of Catholicism," the change has been but to make the Church more enterprising and aggressive, more than ever full of the missionary, proselytising spirit which marks a truly living faith. And, to my mind at

least, nothing can be more certain than that the Church has greatly prospered in America precisely because America greatly needed and still needs the Catholic Church. She is a Church of the plain people: recruiting her hierarchy from every rank and class of men, living much less with or for the rich and learned than with and for that great mass of humanity whose passions, untamed by letters, are daily goaded by physical wants, her influence is most salutary where *Ardor civium prava jubentium* constitutes an ever present danger. The working of American democracy has no doubt shown many *a priori* objections to popular government to be exaggerated or groundless, but it has also shown no less clearly that *demos,* like other sovereigns, is often selfish, short-sighted, lazy, and misled by bad advice.

At the first "Conference for Good City Government," which was held fifteen years ago in this city, I listened to an unusually thoughtful and outspoken paper by a Dr. Ecob, then the pastor of a Protestant congregation in Albany, on "The Relation of the Church to Municipal Reform." The reverend writer spoke with an indignation, unfortunately but too well founded, of the inertness and seeming indifference of organized Christianity in all forms when face to face with the scandals and abuses of our politics, and more especially of our municipal politics; and I was much interested to note why in his judgment "the Church," as he used the term, had incurred this severe censure. He said:

"The Church, like Keats's Saturn, has sat as 'quiet as a stone' under the influence of certain traditions. One of these most sedative and relaxing traditions is that the Church is the 'Kingdom of God on Earth.' Another is that everything outside of the Church is 'secular.' These two are but the obverse and the reverse of the same coin. . . . We have narrowed the life and work of the Church down to a sort of wreckage system. The world is a great, noisy, heedless, sensuous, vulgar pleasure excursion. The huge boat has struck and is wrecked on the rock of sin. The hundreds of wretched victims are struggling in the water, clinging to the rigging, hugging the rocks, starving, freezing, perishing. The world is shipwrecked. The Church is safe and sound on the everlasting shore. When it is not too busy with its psalmody and Greek sermons and theologi-

cal debates, it does a little business in the line of getting a few of the wrecked worldlings ashore. But it is so particular as to its life-saving methods, so fastidious as to the kind of people it deigns to save, so tired most of the time with the whole wreckage business, that the percentage of salvation is lamentably small."

That Catholics, and the clergy no less than the laity, have their full share of responsibility for misgovernment of every kind in the United States, and particularly for the misgovernment of our great cities, I would be the last to deny; but, whatever may be the shortcomings in this respect of individual Catholics of any class or rank, ecclesiastical or civil, these shortcomings are not excused for *them* by the theory which Dr. Ecob condemned. The ideas that in this world the sheep and goats should be parted off from each other and fed in separate pastures, that the just can be fashioned into a very select little corporation of their own with interests, sympathies, moral standards, in which the unjust have no part or lot; that there may be fields of human thought and action wherewith the Church has no concern; and even that the Church consists, in some sort, of the good and pious only, and that others belong to the "World,"— these ideas are doubtless familiar enough, but for a Catholic they are the outcrop of a rank heresy, which has taken definite shape more than once and always to be emphatically condemned by the Church. These people whom we generally call "Albigenses" call themselves "Catharists," because among them "the Pure,"— that is to say in more modern phraseology, "church members in good standing,"— those who "have experienced a change of heart," were expected to fulfil the law of righteousness, which for "the Impure" existed only to be admired and broken.

It may be worth a moment's delay to correct here an error in nomenclature, which, if apparently slight in itself, may yet be mischievous, as the source, no less than the fruit, of some confusion of thought. I was asked to speak of "The Roman Catholic and Good Citizenship." The term "Roman Catholic" is justified in our country, by convenience, by usage, and by law; but it must be remembered that for those thus designated there is no such thing as a "Roman Catholic Church:" the Church of which they are members is "Catholic *and* Roman," "Roman,"

because in fellowship with the See of Rome and obedient to the Roman pontiff, "Catholic" because, according to its own creed, it ought to extend to every land and ought to include every human being. For the Catholic Church does not mean the Catholic hierarchy nor the Catholic clergy nor devout Catholics nor "practical" Catholics nor professed Catholics. Every baptized man is a member of it: every unbaptized man is a candidate for membership. The former may be the bitterest enemy of Catholicism or Christianity, of religion in any form, but this does not change the fact of his membership any more than the bullocks' blood washed from Julian's head the waters of baptism: he can no more refuse to be a Christian and elect to be something else than he can refuse to be a man and elect to be a gorilla or an elephant. The second may have never heard of the Church or her faith or her Founder, or he may know much or little about these only to despise and revile them, yet he is none the less the Church's divinely appointed ward and pupil. And, as no man, however perverse in doctrine, however degraded in nature, however odious in sentiments or conduct, can rightfully escape her authority or cease to awaken her interest, so nothing that he can do or say or think or feel is beyond or beneath or aside from her ken. For every idle word he shall answer and in aught wherefor he shall answer is the Universal Church without concern.

Apply, then, this fundamental Catholic doctrine to the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship. Will I be told by Catholics that the Church can stand mute and unmoved whilst her children, actively or passively, assist to make any spot of the nation's soil a Sodom, or the exercise of power the nation has given, the neglect of duties the nation has imposed, a source of damnation for soul and body? In our country do we Catholics render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's if we raise no finger while our sovereign, the American people, is robbed, disgraced, misled or debauched? And, if we render not to Cæsar his due, if we are not recreant to our trust as citizens, can we claim that it avails us to justification if we fast according to the law and give tithes of all we possess? Believe me, fellow-citizens, there is no room for Catholics to so think or to so act with a

clear conscience. A well-known English statesman was called "a good Protestant, but a bad Christian." I leave others to criticise this description, but no one can be at once a good Catholic and a bad father or son, husband or citizen: if he fail in any one of the duties of life, he fails in his duty to his Church.

I am here to point out why American Catholics are bound by their own doctrines to be good citizens, why the growth and vigor of the Catholic Church in America, if rightly understood, is a source of strength and a cause of thankfulness to those who would make all Americans better citizens. I am unwilling to show the respect of an answer for mere calumnies or mere revilings, whether of any Church or of her children. There is, however, one argument against the Catholic Church, or, at least, one outcry doing duty as an argument, which merits a passing word, if for no other reason, because of its antiquity. Pilate was told that his prisoner would make himself King of the Jews: we are sometimes told to-day that the Church aspires to temporal dominion. He asked for and heard the truth and declared the charge groundless, yet he feared the cry, "If thou release this man, thou art no friend to Cæsar." There have been some men in public life among us as consciously unjust when they cowered before the like clamor. On this subject let us ask but two questions: were those men who thus drove Pilate to shed innocent blood, were they, in truth, "friends to Cæsar?" Is any one who, in our day and country, would proscribe men for their faith and stir anew the dying embers of sectarian hatred, is such a man in truth a friend to American Liberty?

THE PROTESTANT AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP

W. H. P. FAUNCE,

PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY

It has often been suspected, and sometimes affirmed, that religious faith is hostile to the undivided loyalty of true citizenship. This was the constant charge brought against the early Christians. They refused to sacrifice to the gods of their fathers. The best of the Roman emperors could see in the early Christian cour-

age only the obstinacy of the fanatic and the revolutionist. This was the charge brought against the founder of my State, Roger Williams. Indeed, the greatest perplexities of monarchs and legislatures and courts of law have been in dealing with those who affirm that religious duty is superior to legal obligation.

Protestantism, by its assertion of the right of private judgment, might, at first glance, seem peculiarly open to the charge of being a dangerous form of faith. The consistent Protestant affirms that there is no power on earth, ecclesiastical or civil, that can coerce his judgment as to religious truth or force him to act against his conviction of religious duty. He affirms, with Francis Lieber, that "conscience is beyond the reach of government." Is not such a man more dangerous to the State than even those who have yielded their judgment to ecclesiastical authority? Is not,— so many political rulers have asked,— is not Protestantism the religious phase of social disunion and political anarchy?

But those who cherish such fears have little knowledge of history and no understanding of the Protestant position. All history shows us that there have been no more loyal, compact, and coherent nations in the world than those professing the Protestant faith. Cromwell's Ironsides, Wellington's regiments, Washington's hungry but devoted troops, found in the Protestant religion a power which welded them into invincible armies. There are, to-day, no more united, loyal, patriotic races on earth than those which are dominated and energized by Protestant Christianity.

For the essential principle of Protestantism is not the right of private judgment: that is merely a corollary of our fundamental principle. That fundamental principle of Protestantism is the direct access of every human soul to God, unimpeded, unhampered by the necessary intervention of any priest, ritual, ceremony, or formula. But, if all souls have direct access to their Creator, then all are in some real sense equal, and democracy becomes the ideal in government, in society, and in the church. And this democracy is not the rule of the mob: it is at heart a theocracy, a social order in which all men are near to one another because all are near to God. When men are confessing their allegiance to God, are listening for his voice, and offering themselves for his service, then we have the closest unity that

the world can know, then we have stability in government and patriotism in the people, and in the full realization of the divine Fatherhood we find the surest possible guarantee of human brotherhood. It is the creeds imposed by force, the rituals prescribed by authority, that have divided the world and plunged it into darkness. It is direct access of every human being to God that alone can bring unity out of diversity and establish a social order which shall be identical with the kingdom of God.

But, if Protestants accept and proclaim this principle, they are bound, more deeply than any others in the modern world, to translate the will of God into the laws, the attitudes, and institutions of modern society. They cannot throw their responsibility on any sacred order. They cannot claim, as laymen, that it is the business of ecclesiastics to save the world. They cannot rest in the security of an infallible organization. They know full well that, unless they can incarnate the divine will in the life of the citizen, unless they translate the law of God into the codes of men, unless they Christianize the institutions of the modern world, the divine kingdom cannot come on earth, but will be only the dream of a dreamer who dreams that he has been dreaming. One of the first truths of Protestantism is that no man can be a good Christian unless he is a good citizen.

Such citizenship is needed in the political life of our time. We can not farm out our political duties. Thousands of men fail to realize how clearly civic obligation flows from religious faith. We cannot pray "Thy kingdom come" unless we are making it come in the caucus and the voting booth. The farmer who refuses to leave his farm on election day, the scholar who is so absorbed in his book or his laboratory that he cares not who is chosen as governor or president, the gilded youths who sit idly in arm-chairs gazing out of club windows on election morning, while newly arrived immigrants vote "in blocks of five,"—all these men are guilty of a species of atheism. They either do not believe in any God whatever, or they believe in a God who does not care, a power which is absent or impotent.

The primitive Christians who believe that in a few years the heavens shall roll together as a scroll and all human governments vanish, might be pardoned if they felt no interest in the govern-

ment. We can forgive them if they were not enthusiastic over allegiance to Herod or Nero. But we who believe that America is chosen as the future leader in the world's civilization, and who believe also in God, have a duty that is written on the sky and that calls aloud in every soul. We need to supplement the individualism of the New Testament by the magnificent social zeal and corporate consciousness of the Old Testament. We need to see Moses standing at the court of Pharaoh, or ascending the mountain, to cry in audacious devotion, "If thou wilt not forgive the people, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book!" We need to see Elijah defying Ahab, and Nehemiah building the walls of the city, and all the Old Testament prophets aflame with zeal for civic righteousness and ready to die that Israel might live. We need to remember that the atomistic virtue of the eighteenth century is as far from the Bible as from the spirit of the twentieth century. The good man of the thirteenth century was Simeon Stylites, isolated on his pillar. The good man of the fifteenth century was Thomas à Kempis, whose "Imitation of Christ" has no faintest allusion to any wrongs in this world to be righted. The good man of Bunyan's dream was one who thrust his fingers into his ears to stop the cry of wife and children while he started on his long flight through the world to the celestial gate. But the good man of our time is the one who turns back into the city Destruction, and resolves never to leave it until he has transformed some portion of it, at least, into the enduring City of God.

Indeed, it is in the modern city that Christian patriotism finds its chief challenge and its finest opportunity. In America we have succeeded in our States fairly well, but we have steadily failed in our cities. The government of Massachusetts is better than that of Boston. Illinois is far nearer our ideals than is Chicago. Our States or colonies were developed before our cities grew up. In Europe precisely the opposite is the case. Paris is older than France, and London vastly older than Great Britain. Hence, in the Old World, there is a fine loyalty to the city which we, in America, are only beginning to acquire. Not until we do acquire shall we understand the enthusiasm of Saint Paul for his Roman citizenship, which could lead him to describe himself

as both "a servant of Christ" and "a citizen of no mean city."

But this duty of the citizen is more than political, it is industrial as well. The chief problems of our time are not political, they are economic. How can the ever-expanding industrial and commercial activity of our time be shot with Christian aim and Christian principles? How can modern business be made Christian? The question is not how can we Christianize the results of business. We also believe that the money which men make out of business should be devoted to Christian ends, that some of it should be given to the poor, to the sick, to education, to religion,— we all believe that. But the question is not how to Christianize the results of business, but the process itself, so that, whether money is made or lost, the daily toil of all the millions who work in factory and shop and mill and office shall be Christian toil. We need to be Christian citizens not after business hours are over, but while the business is being done. Many a citizen who would willingly die for his country in time of war is quite willing to work against his country, to circumvent its laws, elude its officials, and prey upon its citizens in time of peace. The chief stealing of our time is not done by the footpad or the burglar, it is done by every man who profits by adulteration in manufacture or deception in trade, or by accepting wages for which he has not rendered full equivalent. Dishonest labor, whether it go into shoes or cotton cloth, into the making of life preservers or impure food, into the building of a capitol at Albany or Harrisburg or Philadelphia, is not only individual falsity, but social treachery and a subtle form of attack upon the State. All false and deceitful craftsmanship is to be classed with the work of the brigand and the pirate, and all true, genuine work is part of the coming of the kingdom of God.

All legitimate business is a form of social service. "My business," says the owner proudly, as he looks about his mill or his store. But in the closely woven network of modern industrial life what possible enterprise is there of which a man can truly say "mine"? In the days when one man made a whole pair of shoes, the possessive pronoun had some significance. But, when thousands of pairs are daily turned out of one factory, no living man can, in the sight of God, look upon the thousands

and say "mine." "When ye pray," said Jesus, "say our." Not only when we pray, but when we organize and administer and produce, the modern world is slowly learning to say "our."

We talk of some enterprises as "public utilities." But such distinctions are rapidly becoming shadowy and unreal. The smallest private undertaking, as it expands, becomes either a public utility or a public damage and impediment. None of us manufacture to himself. If the plumber shall say, I am not responsible for society, is he therefore not responsible? If the switch-tender shall say, I am not of the social body, is he therefore not of the body? If the vendor of milk shall say, I am not of the State, is he therefore free from the State? "Every man," says a recent writer in the London *Spectator,* "whether he is tilling the soil, heaving coal, laying bricks, writing books, organizing business, or planning some industrial work great or small, must accustom himself to feel that he is doing it not for himself or his family alone, but partly for his country. In every form of activity, the motherland must be the silent partner who calls upon him for an extra margin of effort, energy, and self-sacrifice."

The idea of doing business purely for pecuniary gain is one that we no longer tolerate in certain forms of social effort. If we suspect that to be the chief motive of the physician, we do not ask him to enter our homes. If we find it in the clergyman, we pay no heed to his message. The common soldier is supposed to have risen far above it. The fireman who has been two weeks on the force of fire fighters is supposed to have a far higher aim in view. The trained nurse and the college professor are surely not living chiefly for financial reward. But why do we tolerate and expect in industrial pursuits a sordidness which we repudiate in other callings? Why do we expect the fireman who rescues the goods in the store to labor from any higher motive than the man who sells the goods behind the counter? Why do we expect the man who teaches in a school-house to live by a different code from the contractor who builds the school-house? All such distinctions are conventional and unreal. All men must live for the State or against it. The aim of the baker must be to feed the hungry, the aim of the clothier to clothe the naked. If they

do this efficiently, they will be financially rewarded; but they aim, if they be true citizens, not at the reward, but at the public service. Private business, in the strict meaning of the words, is as inconceivable as private fighting in the army. The maxims of Poor Richard, coldly calculating, shrewdly egotistic, are a poor foundation for social co-operation. No man becomes lawfully rich unless he enriches society in the very process of enriching himself. If he rises, he must rise as the mountain rises, lifting forests and homes and villages on its broad shoulders into new light and air. The saving of the individual becomes meaningless except as it involves in some measure the salvation of society.

What vast changes would come over the modern world if these truths should come home to our men and women of leisure. What vast access of moral energy would ensue if these things were believed by the men who, after their business hours, give all their time to sport, and the women who devote their womanhood to the lust of the eye and the pride of life. Would that the men who now look on the world as a mere orange to be squeezed for their own delectation could see it as a sphere for the noblest service. Would that the women who in England are defying the laws of the State and the laws of their own being in the violent demand for political power could see the world as a post of duty rather than a place for frenzied self-assertion.

Would that the men and women of leisure and property could ponder the meaning of the appalling incident in the ancient parable, "A certain beggar was brought whom they laid daily at a rich man's gate." Not in the rich man's hospital, where no feeblest cry could reach the man's ear, but at his gate, where he could not step over that strange object or walk around it, but must come face to face with his new problem and his inevitable duty. Civilization to-day is placing poverty at the very gate of wealth, weakness at the gate of strength, and ignorance at the gate of the university.

THE NEGRO AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP

NOTES OF AN ADDRESS BY DR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Mr. Washington spoke with his usual force and fervor on his favorite topic. It is to be regretted that few notes were at the time taken of his address. At the very beginning of it he disclaimed to represent any particular denomination among his people, saying humorously that he was content to let the men of the white race thresh out these religious questions by themselves, the negro having impartially selected his faith from them all. Mr. Washington's chief aim in his address was to prove the growing fitness of his race for good-citizenship. In part he said: "Our race has accumulated more than $350,000,000 of property. We have at least 500 local negro business leagues scattered throughout the country. When we began there were a few drug stores owned and controlled by black people. Now we have nearly two hundred. A few years ago there were only about a half-dozen negro banks in the country; now there are forty-seven. Dry goods stores, grocery stores and industrial enterprises to the number of over 10,000 have sprung up in all parts of the country. A little more than forty years ago, when the negro was made free, he had almost no acres of land. Now he has an acreage nearly as large as New England. Then he had almost no homes; now he has 400,000 homes. Then he had few farms; now he has 200,000 farms. Then he had no insurance companies; now he has eighty-five. When the American negro was made free about 3 per cent could read and write; now 57 per cent can both read and write. Then he had few churches; now he has 26,000 churches, with $28,000,000 worth of church property.

"The greater part of this progress has taken place in our Southern States, right in the midst of the people who once owned our bodies. Here, let me add, this growth could not have taken place unless we had in each one of the Southern communities not a few white men who have believed in us and stood by us and stimulated and encouraged us. A few days ago in conversation with a gentleman who has traveled widely in Africa and in other parts of the world, including the United States, he remarked to

me that the negro in America was at least one hundred years ahead of the negro anywhere else in the world. I have traveled recently through the States of Mississippi, South Carolina, and portions of Virginia and West Virginia for the purpose of seeing for myself the actual condition of our race. Everywhere I noted progress — marvelous progress in many cases.

"Before we became a free people there were those who freely predicted that the negro race would disappear because, it was said, in a state of freedom, the race could neither shelter, clothe, nor feed itself. To-day we number more than ten millions. For more than forty years we have been free, and except in the case of local or special calamities, we have never yet called upon the nation for a dollar with which to either shelter, clothe or feed us. To have achieved this result is glory within itself.

"In his haste and ambition to grow in material and commercial directions, the negro has not overlooked some of the more fundamental things in life. No matter how many dollars an individual or organization may accumulate, no matter how many business enterprises he may be responsible for, failure and not success will be the result in each case unless he takes along with material prosperity the underlying principles of high moral, righteous living, both as individuals and as organizations."

In these respects also Mr. Washington found a great and growing improvement among those he lovingly called "his people." In a burst of impassioned eloquence he declared: "If I could go back and Providence should ask me what color I wanted my skin to be, I would say: 'Class me as an American negro!'" The colored man, he maintained, was more like the Americans than any other class of people who flocked to our shores; they forgot their old customs and language and adopted the American customs and language quicker than any other race. "Deep down in his heart the negro has the same love, the same respect, the same reverence for your political institutions as any one of you, and he stands just as ready to give and to lay down his life at his country's call."

Second Topic of the Congress,

"THE NATURE AND MISSION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM."

OPENING REMARKS OF HENRY W. WILBUR, PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS:

All races of men have in their own time, and in their own way tapped the same sources of truth and wisdom, and old time and new have each voiced their apprehensions of truth in a common language, under the impulse and inspiration of the same spirit.

Clement of Alexandria, schooled in the poetry and philosophy of Greece, anticipated the plain postulate of George Fox, the shoemaker of Drayton, when he declared that "God hath filled His Universe with the seed of salvation."

Buddha could not have been far from the same spirit that was in Jesus, when he said: "A man who foolishly does me wrong (or regards me as being or doing wrong) I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love; the more evil goes from him, the more good shall go from me."

The ancient prophet who declared that "the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance forever," defined the basis of spiritual kinship for all time.

If the purpose of this Congress is to have any practical meaning, it lies in emphasising this kinship, and in uniting those who possess a common interest in behalf of a common betterment.

The vital problems of our time have to do with those processes which will make the new earth, in which righteousness shall be based on justice.

The world at home and in foreign lands needs service, for the repairing of bruised bodies and the healing of broken spirits. Beneath all skies the divinest call comes to serve with the distinct desire to serve.

Wherever men need help, no man need ask the helper whether

he wears the label of Calvin or Channing, any more than we should inquire under what phase of the moon he was born. The broadest commission, and the best possible equipment should be given the missionary, with no questions as to his creed, or his theological antecedents.

Wherever there is a covert or an open assault upon religious or civic liberty, the call to do battle with the uncarnal weapons of the spirit will come to the Federation of Religious Liberals.

Our conflict must be in behalf of those ideals, as yet only partially realized, which have made modern progress possible, and without which the hope of our children and our children's children for wider opportunity and better living will be an idle dream.

As we stand on the threshold of three days of communion in the unity of the spirit, the prayer of him who now addresses you is, that our deliberations may bear fruit in definite and continuous effort against every wrong that needs resistance; in behalf of every cause that needs assistance, and for growing good to men beneath the all-beholding sun.

WHAT IS RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM?

REV. WILLIAM C. GANNETT, D. D.

I like not that *ism* in our subject. The implications of an *ism* are not generous. The term may slip in as I speak, but let us word our question more simply,— What is it to be a Liberal in religion?

To answer the question, shall I try to define, to describe, or to illustrate?

If to define,— the Liberal is he who emphasizes four things in religion; Freedom, Fellowship, Character, Service. Those four words indicate more of his characteristics than any others I know. It is the *emphasis* on these four things that distinguishes him: the Liberal makes them the supreme things in religion.

If I try to describe, the description but enlarges upon this definition.

First, *the Freedom.* Freedom rather than what? Rather than authority of any kind asserting itself as master of souls. Liberal-

ism is not a position in thought but a posture of the one thinking; the attitude of a mind that may greatly value tradition, and greatly the wisdom of teachers, and greatly the consensus of more competent judges than itself, but that holds,— In religion I must be judge for myself of all this wisdom of others; whatever the source of my knowledge in things scientific, and whatever my deference there, in things ethical and spiritual truth *can* be "truth" to me only as I see for myself it is truth. So the Liberal in religion seeks to be open-minded and reverent to facts wherever he meets them in old or in new; expectant of truth in gleams and glimmers of old, expectant of clearing and widening truth as the yesterdays grow towards to-day, expectant in morrows of truth brighter and surer and larger than that seen to-day. The Liberal believes in the Soul of man — his reason, his conscience, his spiritual apprehension — as the organ of all truth-seeking and finding; and an organ whose powers grow in the individual and in the race. Whose powers *grow;* therefore he ever more and more trusts in the Soul itself as seeker and finder. Whose powers *grow;* therefore he can never trust his own findings as final. The findings are "truth" in the sense that they are truth on the way to be truer. That is one of his tests: is his "truth" truer to-day than it was yesterday? In other words, he knows that his truth is an error, and he even wants it to be. But he also knows that his errors, and all mankind's errors, are fore-shadows and symbols of truth. And with this kind of truth he is more than content,— he is inspired! The foundation on which everything rests is the nature of the Soul. He believes in the Soul,— he is a Soul,— he believes in himself.

The Liberal has his fears. He is not afraid of his doubts, but he *is* afraid of his prejudices; and more afraid of his own than of anyone's else. He does not love, but he is not afraid of, the hard names in religion. As commonly used, he recognizes them as titles of honor: "agnostic," as naming a noble modesty and honesty of mind; "infidelity" as consisting not in believing, nor in disbelieving, but as Thomas Paine said, in professing to believe what one does not believe; "heresy," as to-day's name for to-morrow's probable orthodoxy; non-Christian, as often the name of one who believes with Christ in the things which *he*

emphasized, though not in the theories about Christ which reverent men have devised; "atheist," as usually meaning one who believes more in God than those who fling the word as a stone. He is not afraid of these hard names, then; but he has seen so many "liberal" bigots, and has caught himself in so many bigotries, that he *is* much afraid of his own self-satisfactions in religion, his own sense of orthodoxy, of intellectual rightness and superiority to others. When comparing opinions and faiths with another, he is on his guard therefore; he seeks to put himself in the other's place, to look at the other's reverence from the inside, to allow for the personal equation both in himself and the other, to hail the well-put objection to views that he cherishes, and, as Emerson counseled, to welcome his own overthrow in an argument; in a word, to avoid dogmatism and arrogance; and this for his own sake as much as in justice to others,— for his own sake, lest he fail to recognize angels of thought in unlovely forms.

Such self-reliance and such self-distrust, such range in the truth-quest and such cautions as these in the quest, may serve to indicate the Freedom of the Liberal in religion.

Next, what is the Fellowship that he emphasizes? Fellowship, rather than what? Fellowship in place of the spirit of sect. From freedom as the attitude of the mind in relation to truth, almost of necessity the spirit of fellowship follows as the attitude of the heart towards all other seekers and lovers of truth. For as we realize that the best of us has not attained, and that we are all on the road together, this fact of *togetherness* becomes more important than our own particular place in the procession. Even if we think, as so many of us do, that our place is at the head of the procession, "difference from us is no longer measure of absurdity"— Emerson's phrase again,— and we cannot help knowing that these comrades training behind us are where we were but yesterday; and that those others hidden still farther back in the dust are where we, or our fathers, were the day before yesterday; and also that on roads all out of sight are many other travellers hasting along with heads as high and faces as joyous, perhaps, or as puzzled, as ours,— and, being out of sight over the mountains and over the seas — say in Buddha land,— who really

knows but that some of them may be well in advance of us on their parallel roads?

Then, too, as the spirit of fellowship grows and we are better acquainted with our fellow-travellers, the *kinship* in ideas, in ideals, in reverences, in aims, becomes so apparent that it begins to seem folly to insist on camping so carefully apart as men of a different blood in religion. We recognize the fact that, in spite of our differing names and ancestries, we are more like than unlike in religion; and that the things which unite us are far more important to religion than the things which divide us; that "religions are many, but religion is one." And at last we realize two other humbling, and therefore exalting, facts: (1) that, whatever our fancied vantage in truth of ideas, not a few of these comrades of ours are our sure superiors in the reality of religion,— some of them by a truer thought, some by a deeper experience of soul-life, some by closer loyalty to their vision; and (2) that almost every band of them, that is, every "sect," has something of truth, some rightful emphasis, that we lack, and that we had better try to assimilate, if we would be perfect. As we realize this, that dream about being the head of the procession fades out, and we wake to move on humble and grateful, and therefore faster than ever.

Something like this is the experience of the individual Liberal, as he goes on his thought-road; and the experience of the race as it moves on the thought-roads of history is but this written large. "Toleration in religion, the best fruit of the last four centuries," President Eliot wrote as inscription for one of the Water-Gate tablets at the Columbian Exposition. But during these centuries, in the nations that best deserve the adjective "civilized," that fruit has itself greatly bettered. "*Toleration,*" a cause which had its own martyrs in the Reformation time, has become a word of *in*tolerance to-day. There are horrors still of anti-Semitic persecution in Russia, and horrors of anti-Christian persecution going on at this very moment in Asia Minor; but who in England, or who in America, to-day asks to be "tolerated," and who claims the right to "tolerate?" Toleration has given way to equality, and equality is now giving way to

sympathy. Actual sympathy with ideas that our minds have to reject,— reverence for reverences that we cannot share,— this is to-day the ripening fruit of the centuries in the Liberal circles of our happier lands. It implies a closer brotherhood than even the noble old motto, "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity;" for that left unsettled the perilous question, What *are* "essentials"? and in non-essentials it prescribes, at most, charity; but this new spirit of Fellowship is passing beyond charity into actual sympathy. It means that men are acquiring power to see the soul of truth in what they deem error, and to value the unities as more really vital than the differences of faith, and to think of the varying Churches not as "sects" but as "branches" growing out of one stock of religion. Speed the day when millions shall see these things and be glad! But meanwhile this is only the *Liberal's* spirit of Fellowship in religion.

To illustrate this point, may I venture to tell a dream that I had not long ago about Phillips Brooks? A mere dream, not a story; but even a dream may have parable-power. I had been working on hymns overnight, and woke in the morning to find myself wishing that I had Phillips Brooks' permission to change just one word in the last line of his beautiful Christmas hymn, "O little town of Bethlehem,"— the hymn that ends, "O, come to us, abide with us, Our Lord Emmanuel." I wanted permission to print it "our *Heart's* Emmanuel," to make it still more poetical, but mainly to make it more honest for personal use. After wishing my wish, I must have fallen asleep again; for the next thing I knew I was in the presence of Phillips Brooks up in heaven, the request on my lips. "May I alter the one word?" I pleaded, and explained my Puritan motive. "O yes, if you wish to," he heartily answered, and beamed a great smile. So encouraged, I ventured further and said, "You all sing the *same* words up here, I suppose?" "O, *never!*" he answered quickly, "O, never! We *never* sing the same words up here. But we all *mean* the same things *by* what we sing. It's the *meanings* that make the song here." A little abashed, like Abou ben Adhem, I spoke more low, but cheerly still,—"Down there we have to think of the words to get them honest to the meanings."

"Yes, *down there!*" he replied, and beamed another great smile, as if by and by I, too, would know better. Then I awoke. My dream was like that,— we cannot vouch for the words of a dream; and far be it from me to claim that I have quoted the good Bishop aright! Yet I believe that what I seemed to hear is what he would say up there in his light,— that it's the meaning that makes the song, and the heart's meaning at that; that these meanings are necessarily rendered in varying words by varying minds; and that while the rule for "down here" is, "Let each mind be true to itself in its utterance," the best of our heart's truth is actually missed by us if we fancy that our own form of words or of thought is *essential* to the utterance.

Time does not allow me to describe at this length the other two emphases of the Liberal,— his emphasis on Character and on Service as supreme elements in religion. Character is his *test,* Service is his *aim,* in religion. Not so has it been in the past. Has character been the test of religion? Speaking through the fifth-century Greek, Christianity's answer was, "My test is *Creed* — it is what you believe about the persons of God and the natures of Christ." Speaking through the great Roman Church, for a thousand years her answer was, "My test is *Ritual,*— the prayer, the confession, the penance, the baptism, the attendance at Mass." Speaking through Protestants, until very lately, and still speaking through many, her word has again been, "My test is a *Creed,* — it is what you believe about the salvation through Christ." And these men have often slurred goodness as "mere morality," and called righteousness "filthy rags," and character set to God's will "deadly doing." The *stress,* and the actual test as applied, have been thus; yet theory has always included goodness as a needful part of religion, and there have always been thousands of humble souls, Jew, Greek, Roman, Puritan, living their will-life in God.

But Religion, speaking from age to age through those most truly religious in many a faith, and now strenuously and steadily speaking through the Liberal, says, "Character is my test. I give men thoughts, the largest they think; I give men faiths, the deepest they trust; I give feelings, the strongest that move; but I *measure* by none of these. It is not what you believe, nor

feel, nor do with your hand, nor what you see to be right,— it is how much you *will* of the right that you see and do that I care for. The actual intent and endeavor — in great or in little, and whether success comes or failure — are all that I look at. So far as a man's will is set on the right as he sees the right, it allies him to God: so far as it is set on the wrong as he sees the wrong, it parts him from God. This, nothing less, and no more, is my *test.*" And in the new Christianity, the new Judaism, the new religions of all names flowering to-day, the old tests of religion are being transformed into this nobler test established by prophet and poet and saint.

So, too, the *aim* in religion is transfiguring itself under the liberalizing trend of the age. Not for self-expression, as some say; not for self-culture, as others say; not for self-salvation, as it has been so long said in the past, are we here in the world, says the Liberal; but for the expression, the culture, the salvation of others; for the self-culture only as means to the greater service of others than self. We are here to grow, but to grow to the end that we may *make* grow; and as means to that end, the self-growth also is hallowed. We are learning to apply the secret of Jesus: He that would save his life loseth it, but whoso loseth his life for others is saving it. The soul that in trying to save others forgets that it needs to be saved, does *not* need to be,— it *is* saved already, the Liberal holds. Many with Whittier see it to-day,—

> "That to be saved is only this,—
> Salvation from our selfishness."

Our Quaker poet, with his stress all *against* creed and ritual, and all *for* character and love, is more and more accepted as the psalmist of our day.

Moreover, as the others can only be saved by us here, the *scene* of salvation is shifting from heaven to earth. Look *out,* and not in; look neither forward nor back, but *around,*— is the new pointing. The two "great commandments" are growing "liker" than ever, and virtually one. Within the old Christ a new Christ is emerging, the human within the divine,— Christ the All-Manly, Christ the All-Brotherly. "All-Manly" means

Character; "All-brotherly" Service. And more than ever his true worship is felt to be imitation. "*Be* a Christ! Everything is summed up in that." The ideal which Christendom worships, and the aim which Christendom seeks, are ceasing to contradict one another.

And what is the "Church" of men who are trying to be Christs and finish his work? Mr. Stead answers: "It is the Union of All who Love in the Service of All who Suffer." To serve in this Church the young ministers of to-day are grappling with social science — a new study for theological students. To serve in this Church the Salvation Army, the King's Daughters, the Christian Endeavorers, the College and Social Settlements, the Rescue Missions, and other life-saving bands, are mustering and multiplying. It is an efflorescence of Service! The "social conscience," the "social consciousness,"— these are the great new watchwords to-day. And the new song is —

> "Love for every unloved creature,
> Lonely, poor or small."

In the creed sung in that song, in that creed lived out by fortunate folk homing among the less fortunate, and sharing culture, brightness, beauty, happiness with them, and in the expanding ideals of social justice that break out from the love-dreams in which they first come, the Liberal in religion believes the final solution of social problems lies.

I have so far been speaking of Principles, of *Ideals.* What are likely to be the characteristic *Ideas* of this coming Liberal religion? Do the signs begin to tell that?

I am sure it is a religion that will hold the Ideals above the Ideas; value spirit, attitude, method in religion above doctrines; experience of religion above the best creed or the most cogently beautiful ritual; freedom and fellowship and character and service above even the great and dear thoughts of God and Immortality. But will this coming religion have a *theology* at all? Indeed it will. Men are not yet done wondering what is behind the visible universe, what is the nature of the Power in which and by which the universe lives, what we are in essence ourselves, whence we have come, why we are here, and whither we go, and

the wherefore of all the hardness and the glory of the journey of life; and our answers to our own wonders about these things constitute "theology." As long as man lasts, theology lasts. But I think there will be less emphasis on all these questions in the coming religion; at least, less need felt of certain and definite and elaborate answers. There will be a humbler sense of mystery in the coming theology, just because the growing recognition is Unity. Is the Trinity mystery? Unity — One in All and All in One — is a greater mystery than One-in-Three and Three-in-One. There is no mystery like Unity. There will be more content with the Unknown, though less of that presumption of knowledge that calls anything Unknowable. There will be no conflict between Science and Faith, but Faith will look to Science for enlargements without, while Science will look to Faith for deepenings within. There will be more of Faith,— not less of Faith, but more of Faith, in the coming religion than in the most faithful Churches to-day; that is, a more simple, happy, all-day, every-day trust in the Universe and in Goodness at the heart of the Universe.

But can we be more specific than this about the Liberal's theology? Yes, there are heralds even of its specific tenets, I think.

The Soul will be its first tenet,— the Soul of Man as the seat of Religion. Everything in religion will base on the Soul. Theology will be frankly confessed to be Psychology read into the heavens,— the Soul of Man spelling the Soul of Nature in large.

God will be conceived as the Immanent Power, the Immanent Reason, the Immanent Goodness in all things. His name Law,— Law physical, Law psychical. His name, Reason in self-revelation. His name, Righteousness in tendency. His name, Love,— Love in the courses of the stars, Love in the courses of history, Love in the courses of each little human and sub-human life. The one Living Reality and Presence and Power and Help: joining itself to all that does the will of the Right, and conducting each life, to that will obedient, into beatitude; frustrating, overcoming, and so joining itself also to, all that does *not* do the will of the Right. Personal God, in the sense in which "Person" sums up and names all such forces of Reason and Righteousness as these; impersonal, for any who can call such

forces as these impersonal; God, the Infinite Mystery of Existence,— God, the Best Known of all Existence in the intimacies of Self.

Jesus, however we rank him among those whom he himself called his "brethren" because they with him do that will of the Right, will be correlated among his brother-prophets, those other spokesmen for God,— even as Jews on the one hand, Evangelicals on the other, are correlating him to-day.

The *Bible,* however we rank it among national scriptures, will be correlated among the other scriptures of man,— records, all, of man's search for the better and best. It will be honored and loved, as it is being recognized, honored and loved to-day, as the spiritual autobiography of a people gifted with the apprehension of righteousness and unity,— the thousand years' record of that people's mind-growth, conscience-growth, heart-growth, as it rose from its savagery toward heights, not of to-day's, but of ancient civilization.

Salvation, though that word may not be used, will be recognized as synonymous with just such growths as these,— growths in the individual, growths in the race.

I cannot go on: this will suffice as a hint of the coming Liberal theology.

But one closing question ought to be noted from its interest as well as its importance: What will be the relation of this coming theology to the theology of the past?

Its mission, I think, will be less to refute than to interpret the faiths of the past. True interpretation is at once justification and refutation. True interpretation explains how the old dogmas rose in the minds and hearts and consciences of men,— that they were, for the time, the best translations men could make of the universe in terms of ideas and ideals,— that they were germinal statements of truth, germs that must needs grow and expand as the human mind grew. So the story of a faith is in itself its justification, and in itself its refutation at last. Especially will the coming Liberal theology, if I mistake not, be glad to maintain that the old dogmas of Christianity, now in their decay, are each and all forecasts of great truths which the religion of to-day is recognizing with awe and delight; that those dogmas of Ortho-

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doxy, framed in the fourth and fifth centuries, and elaborated in the sixteenth by Protestantism, are early, concrete, dramatic, *kindergarten* forms of the very truths that you and I are trying to shape in vastly enlarged forms before our own minds to-day. "Incarnation," for example, conceived then as a single expression in history, conceived now as a Universe Law,— "Evolution" simply meaning Incarnation Progressive. "Vicarious Atonement," conceived then as a wholly unique and divine illustration of sacrifice, conceived now as another Universe Law,— the law which affirms that no one lives and no one dies to himself, and that by this solidarity of life all crosses and sufferings and tragedies, even and *sins*, all joys, successes, beatitudes also, work together for the uplift of all. "Inspiration," then conceived as a whispered "Thus saith the Lord" to a prophet, now conceived as a Universe Law of communion and influx between Soul and all souls. And so of the other Orthodox dogmas,— each one the germ of what you and I are rejoicing over in blossom.

And now to sum up. What makes a Liberal in religion? To hold Freedom, Fellowship, Character, Service *supreme* in religion. Whoever holds these supreme, whether he call himself Jew, Roman Catholic or Episcopalian, or Presbyterian or Baptist or Methodist, or Universalist or Unitarian or Friend — or anything else,— *he* is a "Liberal" in religion. Whoever holds these ideals supreme, he and we are of one religious fellowship. Whoever loves and lives these ideals better than we is our teacher, whatever Church or age he belongs to. Doctrines must needs differ, reflecting the difference in minds — and better they should, since all minds see more than one mind, though that one be best. Names must need differ, therefore. But no doctrine, however true and important, ranks with these supreme things. In these, and only in these things, lies the hope of religious unity; and only in this sense is such unity desirable. On these four principles, Freedom, Fellowship, Character, and Service in Religion, as on corner-stones slowly uprises the One Catholic Church of Man.

WHAT LIBERAL RELIGION CAN DO FOR MAN'S HIGHER WELLFARE AND HAPPINESS

PRESIDENT FREDERICK W. HAMILTON, D. D., OF TUFT'S COLLEGE, MASSACHUSETTS

The direct answer to the question implied in my topic can be given in a very few words. Liberal Religion can do everything for man's higher wellfare and happiness that any form of religion can and can do it in the best possible way. If you would know what Judaism has done for man's higher wellfare and happiness you have only to read the thirty centuries and more of the History of Judaism. At every page you will see that the liberal type has produced the finest results and done the most to advance the cause. If you would learn what Catholicism can do for man's higher wellfare and happiness turn to the History of the Catholic Church since the days of the Apostles, and again you may see that the liberal spirit in it and the liberal type of it have accomplished the finest results. If again you would know what Protestantism can do for man's higher wellfare and happiness you have only to consider what Protestantism has accomplished since the days of Luther and Calvin. Again you will see at every point that the vitalizing element which has produced the finest results and the largest accomplishment has been the liberal spirit in the Churches. Wherever religion is at work it secures the higher wellfare and happiness of mankind, and wherever this result has been secured in the largest measure, the motive power has been the liberal and progressive spirit at work in the various religious organizations.

I trust I am making it clear that to my mind the term "liberal religion" has no reference at all to any religious body, any form of Theology, or any set of institutions. It is not what a man believes, it is rather the way in which he believes it. Liberal religion may be found in any ecclesiastical body, under any denominational label, and within any ecclesiastical institutions, but not necessarily connected with any of these things. If I supposed it to be necessarily so connected I should have much less confidence in its future than I now have. It is because I believe

it capable of working in all institutions and through all forms of creeds that I have supreme confidence in it for the future. It is the large and progressive and tolerant temper of the man who sees that the truth, simple, central, and vital, is important, and who realizes that statement of it is necessarily provisional and never vital. It is the spirit in religion which deals with things and not names, with ideas and not words, with substance and not with shadows.

Being all of this it is the adjusting element which keeps permanent religious truths in contact with ever changing human life. Truth, if it were unfortunately identified with its statement, would be as provisional and as temporary as they must necessarily be. Religion, if it were unfortunately identified with the religions, could never be a permanent force in human life. The records of human history are full of religions which have died. They came and served their turn in aiding human progress. The time came when they were no longer capable of rendering their service, they lost their touch with human life, they ceased to be adjustable, and they ceased to be helpful. Their functions ceasing they ceased to exist and only the scholar knows their story. Religion, however, is eternal.

Only as recently as in my own boyhood we were told by travelers and ethnologists that there were here and there very primitive savage races which had no religion. No intelligent traveler or competent ethnologist would now make that statement. It is true that not a few of these tribes have very simple religious beliefs. They appear to lack most of the intellectual convictions which to many persons make up the necessary substance of religion. Not infrequently they have concealed their religious beliefs and practices from the prying eyes of the traveler and the inquisitive investigations of the ethnologist. It is not unnatural that the difficulty in ascertaining their real beliefs, or the impossibility of making their beliefs fill out the content of religion as understood by Christians two generations ago should have led to the conclusion that religion was absent in these cases. Now we know that religion, although it may be reduced to its lowest terms, is never absent.

Religion, as we know it, is a complicated thing. Reduced

to its lowest terms it is simply the recognition of intelligent existence behind and above all the complicated forms of existence with which we are in contact. This recognition is inevitably associated with the desire to put one's self into right relations with the being so recognized. The conviction that one has succeeded in doing this produces feelings of satisfaction and exaltation amounting in some cases to ecstasy. Thus considered, the intellectual content of religion is very slight. It is for the most part a sentiment. The mere recognition of deity is not intellectual, it is rather emotional. It may exist, and may powerfully mould the life of the individual before it rises to definition. It is the inevitable reaction of the untutored mind upon its environment. Atheism, even serious doubt is the product of civilization rather than a survival from savagery.

Students of religion from the Christian point of view are sometimes surprised at the close resemblance between the religious emotions and aspirations as they are exhibited in the Ethinic religions and the religious emotions and aspirations of the Christian. Really there is no occasion for surprise, for the reason that these emotions and aspirations are not characteristic of the religions, but belong to religion itself. Religion as a sentiment and an emotion is the fundamental constant belonging to all forms of religion. It is essentially the same everywhere. You find it in the savage Arab of ancient time, devouring the raw flesh of the camel at his sacrificial feast, or the Indian medicine man communing with the Great Spirit, or the Jewish prophet uttering his solemn " thus saith Jehovah," or the Roman ecclesiastic in his gorgeous vestments offering the sacrifice of the mass in some splendid cathedral, or the Salvation Army lassie with her blue bonnet and her tambourine, or the Protestant evangelist making his stirring appeal to his audience, or the Friend speaking as the spirit moves and feeling the guidance of the inner light. In speech, in dress, in ceremony, in thought, these are as far apart as the poles, but emotionally they are one; together they recognize the life in which we live and move and have our being, together they strive to enter into communication with it, together they feel the thrill of ecstasy when their effort has been real and they feel that it has been successful.

This sentiment undergoes two processes. On the one hand it expresses itself in intellectual forms, and on the other it manifests itself in institutions. The savage feels the presence of deity. He wants to tell what he feels. In order to do that he must think about him, he must define him, he must describe him. He can only do this by the use of the materials for thought and speech which his experience furnishes. He must evolve his God out of his experience. We do not realize fully, unless we stop to think about it, within what limits our thinking is confined. We know that we speak the language into which we are born or which is the common medium of expression among those about us. We who are here to-day do not speak English because it is the most scientifically constructed, the most expressive, or the most perfect language spoken by man. It may be or may not be these things. We speak it because we were born or have made our homes in an English speaking land. But the mind has its language as well as the tongue. We use the thought forms which are current. We do not realize quite as clearly as we do in the case of language that this is the fact, but that it is a fact is undeniable.

In one respect at least the thought forms of the more civilized nations have undergone a great change within half a century. Previous to that time the prevailing thought may be described as static. Permanence was considered not only a normal but an ideal condition. Everybody supposed that forms of religion, forms of government, forms of social organizations, and the like, could be and ought to be permanent. All changes were supposed to be in the direction of the establishment of a permanent form and only necessitated by the imperfection of the form in use. That such a permanent form was desirable, possible, and even probable, nobody seriously questioned, however much he might be dissatisfied with present conditions or statements. We carried this idea over into the hereafter, and looked forward to a permanent condition of unchanging bliss or unchanging torment into which we should pass at death. By and by Charles Darwin wrote "The Origin of Species." As a scientific text book that volume is long since out of date, but as a product of human thought it marks one of the great epochs in the history of the thinking of

mankind. Darwin points out what others have seen, though with less clearness, that the whole creation is in a state of flux, and is constantly becoming, and that changeless things are dead things. Since that book was written this conception has penetrated the entire thinking of mankind. We no longer think in terms of statics, we think in terms of dynamics. We no longer think of permanence of form or condition as either possible or desirable. We realize that human institutions as well as organic species are constantly changing, dissolving, melting into each other. We are all evolutionists whether we know it or not, whether we want to be or not, for the civilized world thinks now in terms of evolution.

We realize now that the savage does not think of religion as we do, because he cannot. No more can we think as he does. The age thinks as it must, within large limits. Ages yet to come will find it as impossible to think as we do, as we find it impossible to fit our intellectual operations to those of ages long past. Thus the gods are developed out of the sentiment of the divine interpreted in terms of the age. In the savage days when the occupations of primitive men were war and the chase his God was a god of battles, a mighty leader of the heavenly hosts worshiped with bloody sacrifice. In the agricultural age when men occupied themselves with the peaceful cultivation of the ground and supported life mainly on its fruits, their god was the god of fertility, the giver of the harvest, the spirit of the corn. When states were consolidated under mighty emperors their gods were irresponsible despots ruling solely by power and by will untrammeled by justice or morality. When legal considerations prevailed God was the supreme judge and his dealings with his creatures took legal forms. In a higher and finer state of society than either of these God is worshiped as the Father or loving parent, whose nature can be dimly comprehended through the medium of what is best in his children. All of these conceptions of the divine grow inevitably out of the prevailing conditions of human life.

Concurrently with this intellectual development comes the development of appropriate institutions. The forms of worship, the organization of the worshipers, the temples, altars and sac-

rifices, the rituals, ornaments and vestments, priestly hierarchies, and ministerial orders, all these institutions are the machinery through which men are bound together for the expression and enforcement of their religious convictions. The same is true of codes of conduct imposed by the different religions upon their followers. The conventional morality of any age is largely the product of the time. Real morality drives its roots deep into the permanent elements of life and of religion, but every period and every time has its conventional code which is the result of history, tradition, and environment.

From the point of view which we have taken it is easy to see why some religions persist through many centuries and others do not. The life or death of a religion depends upon its capacity to separate its fundamental truths from their expression, to enlarge its definitions, to adopt new statements, to fill out the changing outline of social forms. The religion of Israel is among the oldest of the great religions. All the contemporary religions with which it came into contact during the first half and more of its existence are dead while it survives with apparently unimpaired vitality. A study of the history of Israel will show that its truth had not been permanently tied to its statements. It has always had its orthodox and liberal parties, and in the end the liberal party has always prevailed. Israel's conception of God as set forth in the earlier records of the Old Testament was little if any superior to the religious notions of the surrounding peoples. As the centuries passed that idea was developed until it could satisfy the lofty soul of Jesus of Nazareth, who regarded himself not as the founder of a new religion, but as the fulfiller of an old one. We must not forget that the Christian Church did not leave the synagogue until it was compelled to do so. This power of expansion, redefinition, and adjustment has kept Israel alive. The lack of it caused the religions of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome to die after they had survived their usefulness.

This lesson of the past ought not to be wasted on the present. There is no occasion for fear for the future of Christianity as a whole. Christianity is itself a liberal movement. "The simplicity that is in Christ Jesus" is guarantee of a power of adjust-

ment which is not likely ever to fail. Christianity, however, is a thing expressed in many forms. Each one of these forms shows the tendency, common to all religions, to harden; that is to say, each denomination shows a tendency to regard itself as Christian and others as pseudo-Christian, and to consider its own forms and statements as the final expression of religious belief. Against this narrowness struggles the liberal spirit in all the denominations, the spirit which holds fast to the great central ideas, but welcomes the continual changes in statement necessary to keep these ideas in vital touch with human life. The continued effort of every Christian denomination depends upon the victory of the liberal element within its body. If the liberal element conquers there will be no sacrifice of truth, but the truth will remain a living thing, always in helpful relations with human life, and the denomination will live because men need it. If the conservative element conquers, truth will be identified with dogma, faith will lose its touch on life, the denomination will cease to be helpful and will die — as it should.

WHAT LIBERAL RELIGION HAS DONE FOR AMERICA

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS BY EDWIN D. MEAD, PRESIDENT OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

At the very beginning of our history three liberal principles of the greatest moment had remarkable emphasis. The little Pilgrim congregation which settled Plymouth were the most conspicuous representatives in their time of the principles of complete democracy in church government; Roger Williams was the first founder of a state upon the principle of religious toleration; and William Penn in Pennsylvania stood for the doctrine of the inner light as superior to all forms of external revelation or authority. It was inevitable that a nation which had such principles as these among its foundation stones should become the greatest temple of religious liberty which history has seen. The principles had to encounter all sorts of opposition and reaction; but they have steadily gone on developing and winning supremacy. The speaker gave impressive illustrations of coura-

geous liberal sentiment all through the early period of New England history in particular. Harvard College, which chose the word "Veritas" for its seal, was almost from the beginning a cradle of liberal movements in religion, as the English Cambridge had been before it. Protestantism, Puritanism and Independency were all successively cradled in the English Cambridge; and Harvard came into the apostolic succession as concerned religious progress. A century after its foundation, Eastern Massachusetts was full of ministers who represented the most liberal sentiments both in religion and politics,— for the two went hand in hand in those old days. Many of the leading ministers who shaped popular thought for the American Revolution were men essentially Unitarian in their belief. John Adams himself has left us a memorable list of such whom he knew. The speaker dwelt especially upon the noteworthy political and religious influence of Jonathan Mayhew, and spoke of his familiarity with the writings of Milton and other advanced English thinkers. Franklin, Jefferson, and many of the illustrious leaders of the Revolution were men as radical in religious as in political thought. "I trust," said Jefferson, "there is not a young man now living who will not die a Unitarian." It was just as the Revolution began that John Murray began to preach Universalism in America, and just as it ended that Chauncy published his books in behalf of that doctrine. The speaker paid special tribute to the early American Baptist congregations as sources of many liberal movements. From among them came large numbers of the early Universalists; they were always the staunch champions of toleration; and they were the most resolute workers for the separation of church and state — which separation did not come in Massachusetts until two centuries after the founding of Rhode Island.

Channing opened a new era in American religious thought; and the speaker showed how the central principles for which Channing stood, and Emerson and Theodore Parker after him, have gradually come to pervade all thoughtful religious circles. When Dean Stanley visited America he said that he found Emerson preaching in every important pulpit. The speaker himself had recently been present at the celebration of Dr. Gordon's

twenty-five years' ministry over the Old South Church in Boston; and a Yale professor had there surveyed the changes in the theology in the Congregational Churches during the quarter century. They have brought about, he said, a wholly new view of the supernatural, of the Bible, of Jesus, of human nature and of human society. All of these changes have really consisted in the coming up of the great multitudes of thoughtful men to the prophetic views of Channing, Emerson, and Parker; although of course their influence has been coincident with influences from Germany and elsewhere.

There are few better indications of the vitality of a religious movement than its power to sing; and the hymns which have sprung from American liberal religion have been among the noblest of modern times. The great American poets altogether have belonged to the household of liberal religion, and all the great historians as well. In the field of education and philanthropy liberal religion has conspicuously proved its faith by its works. It is doubtful whether any religious bodies so small ever contributed so large a proportion of leaders in philanthropy and reform. The speaker touched upon the work of Tuckerman, Dorothea Dix, Samuel C. Howe, and Henry Bergh, and especially upon the organization of the peace movement in America. From the tissue of Worcester, Channing, and Sumner, to the present, the championship of international justice by liberal religious leaders has nobly attested the virtue of their conception of the true dignity and vocation of the children of God.

LIBERAL RELIGION A POSITIVE FAITH

CURTIS GOULD, JR., OF BOSTON

By "liberal religion," I do not understand the acceptance of any crystallized theological dogma, nor by those who profess to be liberal religionists do I understand the members of any one particular sect. In short the term "liberal religion," as used by this association seems to me to be in a way misleading. What we are really seeking is not so much a liberal religion but rather liberality in religion.

The spread of education and toleration is carrying with it

the spirit of liberalism into all bodies of devout worshippers whether Catholic or Protestant or Jew or Buddhist or Mohammedan. The liberal religionist, not in one sect, but universally everywhere is seeking and finding conviction as well as blind faith, and through simplicity rather than through mystery. Mere blind acceptance of a creed may be satisfied with passivity, but profound and joyous conviction is to be won only by a religion of assertion.

Goethe, seeking to define the spirit of evil, puts into the mouth of Mephistopheles the words "Ich bin der Geist der stets verneint" (I am the spirit that eternally denies). In that sublime chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew which opens with the Beatitudes, Jesus of Nazareth says of his mission on earth, the very antithesis of negation, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy but to fulfil."

Buddha, five centuries before the first Christmas, had proclaimed, as a rule of life, "Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you." For this passive behest to abstain from evil-doing the Founder of Christianity substituted the Golden Rule, inculcating activity in well doing: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets," an amplification of the Mosaic command in Leviticus, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

In the sixth book of the Thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, it is set down: "The best way of avenging thyself is not to become like the wrong doer." This was the sober but negative conclusion of the soldier emperor, the leader of the "Thundering Legion." It was at least a protest against the old philosophy of revenge, "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe." The pagan reasoning of the Roman emperor, like that of the Indian philosopher, fell far short of the immortal injunction to action, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

I have ventured to make these comparisons as illustrations

of the superiority of the active, not merely to the negative, but to the passive, in religion as in all other human experiences. The force of evil resists, the philosophy of paganism neither resists nor promotes, but the religion that stands for uplift, hope and progress must be neither negative nor merely passive but positively active for good.

It has always seemed to me unfortunate that those who in one place or another have sought to fight the universal enemies, agnosticism or atheism, by adding conviction to blind faith have emphasized so strongly their denial of the creeds of others. Truth advances not by denial, but by assertion. Mere opposition without suggestion, in religious life as in political life, becomes first an object of anger and then of ridicule. The gentlemen who protest against a national inheritance tax with only more vigor than they protest against duties on tea and coffee, without suggesting any means of revenue by which the expenses of government may be paid, are no more ridiculous than those who declaim against ancient mystery, creed and tradition, but offer no positive conviction in its place.

The man of liberal thought is often more genuinely devout than the conservative, for his religion, not merely accepted but sought and acquired, differs as the thing that is given differs from the thing that is earned. Socrates suffered martyrdom for the liberality of his religious faith, yet his last word was an appeal for an act of devotion. He denounced the loose stories attributed by Greek mythology to the gods of Olympus as necessarily the inventions of poets, declaring that beings superior to humanity could not have committed acts recognized even by humanity as sinful. Yet, because he applied the touchstone of intelligence to the mere trappings and settings of religion, he did not feel himself thereby divorced from religion itself. On the contrary, he felt himself the more forced to proclaim a Supreme Divine authority, whose spirit he felt in his own being. You will remember his last hours were devoted to an argument that death was not destruction but development. You remember also that he left behind him as a last legacy to his friends his perfect conviction that the passage from this life to another was no loss but a gain.

Judged by exact definition there is no more inaccurate term in the world than the appellation Protestant. If the Protestant had done nothing more than to protest against another creed, Protestantism, so-called, would never have survived. The rebellious monk, nailing to the church door at Wittenberg the theses on which he was prepared to defy existing dogma, was a splendid instance of courage, if you will, but that act of protest alone was merely destructive.

The Luther who founded the Lutheran Church was not merely an objector. Mere objection creates no permanent following. The Luther that was followed was rather (disregarding for the moment whether he was right or wrong) the proclaimer of a positive faith who, chalking on the desk before him, at Marburg, in his great debate with the Swiss theologian, Zwingli, the declaration, "Hoc est meum corpus," in which he literally did believe, refused to budge or compromise even to secure a larger leadership. It was not in denial of another's creed, but in defence of his own, that he stood up before the imperial Diet at Worms and in the face of death itself declared "Here stand I. I can no otherwise. God help me. Amen."

Liberality in religion implies so absolutely the free toleration of all honest convictions, however differing, that in the proclamation of liberality the assertion of the more important half of the phrase, religion, is apt to be forgotten. The recognition of the sincerity and the worth of another man's creed is one of the most blessed developments of modern civilization, provided toleration does not relapse into indifference. We have passed the period when the advocate of freedom of thought needs to emphasize what he does not believe. We have almost passed the period when, like Lord Baltimore or Roger Williams, we need particularly to iterate and reiterate a disavowal of personal or political antagonism to those differing from us in religious convictions. If liberal religion is to be no mere misty and intangible phantom of an attenuated philosophy, but a strong, red-blooded, manly faith, its professors must more frequently proclaim not what they do not believe, but what they do believe.

Science is not the destroyer, but the revealer of religion. The savage worships blindly, and to avert personal misfortune sacri-

fices to idols, rocks, trees, serpents, ancestors, natural or supernatural forces, to anything that is or seems stronger than himself, from the sheer desire to avert personal misfortune from himself. It is not merely a human but an animal instinct to fear what is not readily understood. Education strips the mystery from religion as the sculptor cuts stone from the statue, but religion itself is as eternal as the angel that was always hidden in the heart of the marble.

The savage makes gifts to a Mumbo Jumbo, that personal pain may be averted, that personal pleasure may be obtained. The civilized man seeks divine guidance rather than divine help, he prays not for ease but for strength, and accepts temporal misfortune or temporal failure with equanimity in the assured conviction that a Divine Power ever converts individual evil to general good, and that not merely the general good but true happiness of the soul comes not from self seeking but self sacrifice.

Geology, astronomy, biology, history have done something more than to prove to us that dragons once really did fly through the air, that there really are other living worlds above the skies, that animals like the leviathan did once swim the seas, that Ur of the Chaldees really was once a great metropolis alive with warehouses and arsenals and race tracks and homes and temples. They have set by the side of revelation proof and illustration that this is not a universe of chance and accident: that there is somewhere, somehow a great First Cause; that the strivings of the complaining millions of men do somehow work together for good; that, viewed through the perspective glass of the centuries, tyrants, demagogues, thieves and murderers have been helpless to prevent the onward and upward progress of the race; that the selfish life is not the happy life; that life itself does not end with the dropping of the leaf nor the disintegration of the body; that it is given to no man to prevent the onward progress of the universe, but that a choice is given to every man between shunning and seeking coöperation with the Divine purpose that is eternal.

To such certainties of general religious conviction the liberal Christian, of course, would add his acceptance of Christ as the Master and the Bible as a guide.

On those who rebel against the restrictions of the Talmud, but who cling to the teachings of the Pentateuch; on those who may not accept the proclaimed location of the coffin of Mahomet or the literal interpretation of the sword-blade path to Paradise, but who embrace and practice the teachings of temperance and piety in the Koran; on those who shrink from the authority in matters temporal of the successor of St. Peter, but who turn with no whit less of reverence and devotion to the inspiration of the New Testament; on all of these is doubly imposed the duty of public confession of reverence and religion, of insistence that if we who call ourselves liberal in faith render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, we are even readier to render to God the things that are God's.

The dangers that threaten a free popular government come not from this religion, not that religion, nor from any religion, but from irreligion. Atheism and Anarchy are sisters. Strip from man the sense of his responsibility to God and you dissolve by the same act his sense of responsibility to man.

No republic of Atheists ever has endured. When the playwrights of Athens made their characters swear "By Zeus, if there is such a person," Athens was ready to pass beneath the yoke of Sparta, of Macedonia, of Rome. When the Roman augurs chuckled and winked at each other as they passed on the way to ceremonies once sacred, the Republic of Cato was dead and the domination of the Caesars was at hand. The abandonment of Divine worship for the adoration of actresses representing a Goddess of Reason was coincident with the Red Terror that wrecked the first French Republic. The coincidence was no accident. Even a blasphemous Buonaparte found that the reestablishment of law and order was impossible under a government that repudiated the practices of religion.

To the doubter of authority of revelation, historical research offers not further weakness, but a buttress of strength. Never was there a more awful blasphemy than the hideous proverb of a century ago: "God is on the side of the strongest battalions." That the whole course of history shows the contrary when the victory of the weak means a victory for human betterment is

the most convincing testimony that the guidance of the universe is not in human hands.

The Persians were the conquerors of the ancient world, the first fighting nation of their day. The general whom Greece sent against them with her handful was but a student of Persian strategy. The Phoenicians, who supplied the Persian fleet were the first navigators of the time, more daring and more skilful than any who sailed the seas till the raven banner flew over the long ships of the Norsemen. The commander of the disorganized and mutinous Greek fleet was not even a sailor. Yet Marathon and Salamis were to settle whether the future ideals of Europe were to be based upon culture and democracy or luxury and empire, and at Marathon and Salamis the stronger battalions went down before the little force whose success meant the uplift of humanity.

Hannibal was probably the ablest military commander who ever lived. His army was of professional veterans, flushed with years of victory in Sicily, in Spain, in Gaul, in Italy. He was opposed in the long struggle for Rome by an amateur in war with an army of what we should call militia. Upon the issue hung the future of free government. Carthage was the incarnation of materialism and aristocracy. Rome stood for a free government by free men. It was not the strongest battalions nor the greater general who won the ultimate victory. Hannibal fled to Africa.

Attila, the Scourge of God, as he called himself, purged the rotting remains of the Roman empire as with fire, but his was a purely destructive force. Something better than his yellow tribesmen were needed for the basis of a regenerated Europe. The army that faced the world conqueror from Asia, not on the confines of Europe, but with its back to the Seine, was a ridiculous patchwork of broken forces, part Roman, part Gallic, part Frank, united only by a common danger. "One hundred and sixty-five thousand corpses," says the Gothic historian, "were strewed upon the field of battle," but there, too, victory was not with the strongest battalions. Attila fled.

Mahomet rose upon the wreck of degenerate pagan and de-

generate Christian peoples. The Saracen armies swept a purifying path through Arabia, Egypt, all Northern Africa. They crossed into Spain and transformed one of the pillars of Hercules, Gibraltar (Gebel Tarik, the rock of Tarik) into an eternal monument to their commander. The degenerate Gothic kingdom of Spain fell, and Roderick, its last chief, vanished.

The country we now call France did not exist. There was instead merely a battleground where Teutonic tribes, warring among themselves, alike ruthlessly massacred the peace-loving sons of the once ferocious Gaul and of the warrior Roman. The victorious Saracen wave swept nearly to the walls of Tours. It was faced by Charles Martel, of the little kingdom of Austrasia and his Frankish followers. Yet the mighty flood of invasion halted, scattered into spray and ebbed slowly back beyond the Mediterranean.

The Christian home, not the Moslem harem, was to be the basis of civilization in the West. The strongest battalions had been the strongest when faced with idolatry and degeneracy. They collapsed at the touch of a Northern power, weak in organization but more potential for human uplift than the fanaticism of Islam.

The little fleet of Drake and the Invincible Armada; the ragged Continentals from thirteen squabbling provinces, and the disciplined veterans of England and Germany; the barefooted, starving soldiers of republican France, fighting single-handed against the allied kings and emperors of Europe — it is not necessary to multiply instances of defeat of the stronger by the weaker battalions, to show the illuminating evidence of the existence of God shining from the history of man.

This is an age of toleration, an age when men are seeking not unessentials of dogma that they may differ, but essentials of faith that they may agree. Like all strong nations we are of various races. Like all wise nations we are learning to bear with one another's opinions. Unless, however, we would go to the wall with the weaklings we must have some opinions. That we are free to think does not imply that we are freed from thinking.

We are likely to see in our time neither a universal language

nor a universal religion, but world congress after world congress for the promotion of the world's industry, the world's comfort, the world's health, the world's peace. These are bringing in their train at least the quickening sense that in reverent and universal acquiescence in the fatherhood of God is included the ever increasing recognition of the brotherhood of man. Honest and sincere communicants of all forms of faith can at least join in the moral code of human action set down by our venerable St. Paul of New England, Edward Everett Hale:

"Look forward, not back; look out, not in; look up, not down, and lend a hand."

THE OBLIGATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM IN AMERICA TO-DAY

REV. FREDERIC W. PERKINS, D.D., OF LYNN, MASS.

Religious liberalism is nothing more nor less than religion trusting itself to the free spirit for validation and usefulness. It is a supreme faith in God voiced in the self-reliant conviction that the highest and best in one's nature will lead him to God; a faith in man expressed in the conviction that in man's disciplined reason and instructed conscience God's voice has spoken; a faith in the primacy of the spiritual instincts as the witnesses, in the world of the seen and temporal, of the perpetual encompassing presence of the world of the unseen and eternal. We are to understand that in this address, as in this entire conference, we are thinking about a certain type of Religion incidentally denominated liberal, rather than about a certain type of Liberalism incidentally denominated religious.

It is not at all surprising that the most obvious exhibitions of the spirit of liberal religion have been given by its struggles against spiritual or ecclesiastical bondage. We are never so conscious of the power of a stream as when we try to obstruct it. The medicinal and re-creative forces of the human body are never so apparent as in the event of disease. We are never so conscious of our birthright as free-born children of the Heavenly Father's household as when some one treats us as bondsmen. But this is rather the pathology of liberal religion, and

pathological studies, valuable incidentally, may easily lead to a distorted view of the primary purpose of the living fact studied. Disease may become more interesting than health. A surgeon, one sometimes suspects, is quite as much interested in a man's vitality when it is knitting together a broken leg as when it is enabling the man to walk easily and tirelessly down the road. Whatever our interest in the dramatic struggle of religion to gain freedom, a struggle by no means finished, our primary and overmastering interest is in the larger service religion may render in the wider freedom it has achieved.

The program of this conference provides for very complete consideration of the practical expressions of religious liberalism in our varied personal and associated life. In its bearing on science and theology, on the church, the Bible, and the Christ, on social service and political reform, its obligations and opportunities will be specifically set forth. The purpose of this address, therefore, may properly be more comprehensive and theoretical. Broadly considered, the obligation and opportunity of liberal religion in America to-day is to exemplify the union that ought to exist between spiritual breadth and catholicity, on the one hand, and depth and tenacity of religious conviction on the other.

It is perfectly obvious that sharply defined, contentiously argued, aggressively championed convictions do not play so large a part in religious life to-day as they did formerly. One of the first results of the spread of the liberal spirit has been to lower their long-time commanding prestige. Even in churches not regarded as liberal the distinctively theological interest no longer predominates. It is not so much that doctrines are denied or but waveringly affirmed; they are not regarded as of sufficient interest to be even considered. The ruling interest in religion to-day is not theological but biological. If people think of religious doctrine at all it is as a principle incidentally involved in righteous living. God is a postulate of the good life, not a theological proposition. Unquestionably He ought to be that primarily; it is a question, however, whether religion will not suffer if He is only that, if He never receives the assent of the constructive intellect as well as the consent of the obedient will. But preferences aside, the disparagement of religious conviction

is a pervasive fact. Many people would accept as the distinctive shibboleth of liberal religion the declaration, "Religion is life; if you live right, it makes no difference what you believe."

If that is true, it may be said in passing, religion is a marked exception to every other region of human activity; everywhere else it makes a quite decided difference what one believes and whether he believes it with all his heart. A few months back, the United States was a vast forum in which many ardent and industrious men were endeavoring to persuade their fellow citizens that Mr. Taft or Mr. Bryan was the better man for President. Those political workers entertained a shrewd suspicion that a man's belief on that question would have something to do with the way he would vote. Yet we all instinctively respond to the sentiment behind the familiar statement as to religion, and if we are to suggest any amendment of it we must first appreciate the mood it voices.

For one thing, it voices a legitimate protest against the dogmatic intolerance which has traditionally accompanied intensity of religious conviction. The dogmatic temper has come to be synonymous with the intolerant temper. It has been divisive, whereas the best people to-day are seeking agreements. It has been intellectually arrogant, whereas the best minds are intellectually modest and teachable.

"For much of the agnosticism of the age the gnosticism of the theologians is responsible." The bewildering increase of knowledge has made men cautious and reserved in statements of belief. The man of strong convictions is apt to lack a sense of spiritual proportion and to hold essentials and non-essentials with like uncompromising intensity. The liberal is repelled by this disposition to link together confident trust in great spiritual fundamentals with dogmatic affirmation in regions of thought where dogmatism is especially improper and absurd. He is apt to regard this tendency to mere partisanship and bigotry as an incurable disease of the strongly believing temper, and therefore, in order to insure freedom and breadth, he is averse to the self-committal and the thrill of allegiance which the ardent believer knows and craves. He will not let himself go lest he find it hard to get himself back!

For another thing, the popular dictum that religion is life and it makes no difference what you believe states a basal truth so important that one may pardon the fallacious inference drawn from it. Religion is life. It is only secondarily a formulated set of ideas. The only religious value of any belief is its life-value.

If a belief has no life-value, if it does not spontaneously transmute itself into conduct, it is no essential element of religion. Even life-giving beliefs may be held in a lifeless way, as a creed rather than a faith. Your creed is what you assent to with your head; your faith is what you give allegiance to with your heart and will. One may believe the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the spiritual primacy of Jesus, the final victory of good over evil, as articles of a creed, yet have precious little faith in them as principles of life. And when a man of faith appears, we are influenced more by the contagion of his life than by the logic of his beliefs. So was it with Jesus. The pages of the gospels have no suggestion of the traditional theological treatise. It is an almost complete change of spiritual climate which one experiences in passing from the one to the other. Jesus was indeed a mighty believer in God and man and invincible goodness, but all his talk is of life, and you are aware of the heart-throbs of his mighty beliefs only as you are aware of the throbbing dynamo in the light that floods the room. The popular verdict of religious liberalism is sound that religion is life; and so completely does vital religion absorb its involved beliefs into the very structure of its being that the beliefs may easily seem to be unimportant and negligible factors in the result.

We recognize, then, this disposition to minimize the importance of clearly formulated convictions as one of the marked tendencies in religious liberalism. The purpose is on all sides apparent to find a basis which may simply ignore intellectual conditions of fellowship. For example, there is John Hunter's great church in Glasgow, which would fellowship, according to to its covenant, "all who are sincerely seeking and striving to do the will of God, and have faith in Jesus Christ sufficient to be disciples in his school, followers in his footsteps, and sharers

in his work." From Glasgow also comes this declaration of Prof. James Denny as a sufficient basis for Christian union: "I believe in God through Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord and Saviour." To be sure, the inclusive temper of this statement appears less obvious after reading a semi-official interpretation of the phraseology, which, we are assured, will exclude the heretic as effectively as it will include the believer; but the change of emphasis from the letter to the spirit is evident. The covenant of the Church of Christ in Dartmouth College reads: "I determine to be a disciple of Jesus Christ and to do the will of God as revealed through him." Even more untheological in temper is the recent declaration of Dr. Vernon before the council called to advise Harvard Congregational Church in Brookline concerning his settlement: "I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. That, either by expression or implication, contains everything I regard as vital to the highest conceivable manhood." He furthermore refused to accept, as a classifying label, the name of either Trinitarian or Unitarian, apparently on the ground that the implied theological distinction has become obsolete.

We are not called upon to discuss or approve these statements; their significance, however, is unmistakable. Their ruling interest is practical, not theoretical; life, not creed. They would unite men in a common service and fuse them by a common spiritual loyalty. They all breathe the spirit of the teacher and leader of Christians, who would accept no adoring ascription of Lord, Lord, from those who lack purpose to do the will of the Father in heaven; and in that challenge to his followers Jesus but enforces anew Israel's standard of religion, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly before God?"

Broad and catholic as such a non-theological fellowship is, however, liberal religion is confronted with a deeper obligation and a larger opportunity. So far as these inclusive declarations of spiritual loyalty and moral purpose express a unity of spirit and a bond of peace comprehending wide varieties of thought, that far they mark a permanent gain in true liberality. So far, however, as they imply that men can preserve unity and keep the religious peace only by ceasing to think and to affirm can-

didly the divergent results of their thinking, that far they do not mark any permanent advance. That the present-day disparagement of theology in the supposed interests of catholicity does often mean that, no man can deny. Referring to a certain conference of students from several theological schools, a penetrating observer of modern religious conditions recently said: "The program was rich in suggestions, both for the conduct of the devout life and for the direction of practical service, but throughout the session not one word was spoken either by old or young which concerned the minister as a thinker, or the duties of theological students as students of theology. Feeling and action had crowded out of the foreground of interest the function of thought. Piety and efficiency seemed sufficient substitutes for intellectual power. The passion for service had supplanted the passion for truth." And Dr. Peabody goes on to assert: "Not less of religious fervor and not less of practical activity are demanded of the representatives of religion, but a new accession of intellectual power, the capacity to translate the message of the Timeless into the dialect of the present age. . . . The future of organized religion will depend, not alone on new expressions of piety and new enlistments for service, but — in an unprecedented degree — on a revival, among those who represent religion, of intellectual authority and leadership."

For be it remembered that if men think at all they will think about religion, and the more profoundly the spiritual deeps are stirred the more compelling will be the intellectual interest in the eternal facts with which religion deals. Men wearied by unspiritual intellectualism or theological controversy may be content for a time with the repose of unaggressive piety or the healing bath of social service. But sooner or later their refreshed intellects will respond to the mental challenge of religion and they will form intellectual convictions. What is the nature and purpose of God? Men will seek to answer that question, to "think God's thoughts after Him," even though the answer is as elusive as the question is persistent; and the abiding conviction will powerfully affect the way in which they will serve Him and serve their fellow-men. What is the place of Jesus in the religious leadership of the world? No man's an-

swer to that question can be wholly without influence on the power of command which one or another of Jesus' teachings or phases of his life will take on. Why are sin and sickness and sorrow cursing human existence? All about us are thousands of people who witness to the soul's response to any answer which will dispel the fear and lift the burden. And no thoughtful man who shares our mortal life with its broken purposes and frustrated hopes, its ideals of perfection mocked by frail and feeble accomplishment, its subtle and persistent intimations of an eternal world encompassing the things of time, can fail to ask, Whither? and to ponder the question of destiny. In the power of convictions, partly his own, partly of his fathers, partly of the community in which he dwells, man will live his religious life. Doubtless the roots of one's religion are in the instincts of his sentiments and the impulses of his will, but their final sanction and direction are in the reasoned convictions of his intellect; and if his religion is to be regal and commanding in his life, it must formulate itself into positive intellectual convictions that grip his soul with tenacity and power.

But how, now, are we to prevent such positive convictions, with their inevitable divergences, from breaking the spiritual peace, as they have generally succeeded in doing? Simply by refusing to make them tests of spiritual fellowship. Dogmatism is an excellent quality when it prescribes a channel of loyal service for one's self; it is a harmful quality when it erects a standard of fellowship and confidence towards one's neighbor. The creedal differences of the past degenerated into unspiritual intellectualism and dogmatic intolerance not because men believed strongly, but because they forgot that the final justification of their beliefs was to be found in their power to inspire and direct the common task of serving God as loyal sons and serving men as loving brothers. Participation in that common task is the test of fellowship, and the convictions of an individual or a church are to be held not as the articles of a standard creed but as the working principles of a righteous life. Within the fraternal circle of the fellowship of spirit and moral purpose such convictions, openly declared and varying as they may, are to have free sway, to survive, as they severally meet the tests of truth and serviceable-

ness. They may divide men into churches or into groups within churches; but they will not divide the larger brotherhood of those who seek to do the will of God.

Who, for example, is the liberal Christian? He may be one to whom Jesus appeals by his power to embody God and to make Him more effectually a present influence in his world. To such a one the pre-eminent fact about Christ is that he has, as a matter of spiritual experience, brought God out from his remote, inaccessible abode, translated Him into terms of human excellence and fellowship, and made Him a resident of this world of human struggle. Jesus is to him the supreme revelation of the Humanity of God. To another Jesus especially appeals as the unique revelation of the Divinity of man. He is the ideal of humanity made real, the dream of humanity come true. He is the man that one ought to be speaking to the man that one actually is. To yet another, Jesus appeals as the teacher of spiritual truth. Such a one is but feebly interested in the implications of Jesus' life, Godward or manhood, but he is strongly interested in what he taught. Which is the liberal Christian? None of them, if their primary interests are in these various aspects of Christ's life. All of them, if their primary interest in the work which Christ came to do — to set up the kingdom, to enthrone love, to establish righteousness, to make co-operation and service the settled habit of men. Those who magnify the fellowship of that common task will not disparage the mighty convictions which have uplifted the hearts and fortified the purposes of their fellow-workers. They will not empty spiritual fellowship of the enrichment of a varied intellectual expression and thin it down to the few convictions which may obtain universal acceptance. Rather will they find in varying convictions, because of the very strength and seriousness with which men hold them, not walls of exclusion but avenues of approach. Taught by the broad fellowship of a common service, each shall hear in his neighbor's conviction a dialect of a common speech; Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, each shall hear the other speaking in his own tongue the wonderful works of God.

And the same principle reaches more widely. Does the Jew find in the teachings of the prophets, which Jesus appropriated

with such spiritual masterfulness, a sufficient leadership? We to whom Jesus stands in spiritual primacy are false to him if we refuse fellowship to those who are loyal to his God and serviceable in his cause, but who do not find it helpful to bear his name. Our discipleship shall profit us nothing if it fail to educate us into fellowship with whoever strives to do the will of God in moral obedience and brotherly love.

This, then, is the comprehensive obligation resting on liberal religion to-day — to exemplify the union that ought to exist between spiritual breadth and catholicity, on the one hand, and depth and tenacity of even divergent convictions on the other. And as that primary obligation is gladly fulfilled, a greater and more permanent result will follow, viz., the deepening of loyalty to the few simple, fundamental spiritual faiths that underlie moral health and social progress. It is in its power to deepen that loyalty that liberal religion finds its permanent justification. Spiritual freedom, precious as it is, well worth all the heroic struggle it has cost, is yet only a means to an end. The end is loyalty to the truth which freedom may disclose. And the fact which makes freedom so precious is that it is the indispensable condition of attaining to the largest measure of truth and of arousing the most enduring and militant loyalty. Failing to issue in that it is but moral luxuriousness and spiritual sterility. In the realm of religion one's primary concern with truth is its capacity for being transmuted into power. Given that constructive interest in the truth as primary, given spiritual freedom as the best condition of its finest expression, then one's temper will be neither that of the dogmatist, with his exclusive finalities, nor that of the timid experimentalist, fearful lest loyalty to the past and the present will dull his vision of the future. It will be that of one who realizes that his devoutly formulated convictions are but his efforts to testify to the reality of the world of spiritual forces which express God at work. In fellowship with these forces he would abide. In loyalty to their eternal purposes he would live. No man can formulate them adequately to himself. No man may assume to formulate them authoritatively for his neighbor. But, however they may be formulated, they will be represented by the power of a few simple convictions that will

determine one's attitude to life. That attitude assumes that we are ever encompassed by the deathless love of the Living God, who neither slumbers nor sleeps; that not only God is Love, but Love is God. It assumes that in our individual lives are unutilized reservoirs of spiritual power which, if unsealed, will bring God in as a healing flood. It assumes that we are part of an unbreakable human brotherhood, that success means to serve it and failure means to betray it. In this social order the only infidelity to God is infidelity to man, the only heresy is exploiting the public good for private gain. This attitude assumes that God and his righteousness are invincible, that good can win over evil, and that the gospel of the kingdom of justice and service is the justice of a winning cause, not of a forlorn hope.

It is that vital, underlying faith, the finest product of the spirit of liberal religion, which is so superbly voiced in Emerson's lines:

"Stainless soldier on the walls,
Knowing this, and knows no more,
Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore —
Justice after as before.
And he who battles on her side,
God, though he were ten times slain,
Crowns him victor, glorified,
Victor over death and pain."

THE RELATION OF LIBERAL RELIGION TO FOREIGN MISSIONS

ALBERT BOWEN, PHILADELPHIA

I have been asked to present the problem which the appeal of foreign missions brings before the student with liberal religious views. I think I am justified in saying that foreign missionary work does appeal to a liberal student. If a student stops to think out religious problems he becomes more or less of a free thinker. He arrives at the conclusion that a man is a man no matter what he happens to think about certain doctrines. Service is seen to be the great purpose of life. This fact is demonstrated in the college Christian Associations, where men of all denominations join in the settlement and other practical work, because

the Y. M. C. A., narrow as its basis is, presents to the student an opportunity for religious service.

From every side comes the call to service. It is the secret of philosophy and the duty demonstrated by ethics. Professors and ministers constantly preach it; and most effective of all men, the finest type of college men, are every day going forth to live the life of service. It is in the college atmosphere in spite of this age of commercial attractions.

Twenty years ago certain students who were preparing themselves for foreign missionary service in some of the Eastern colleges came together and organized the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. The purpose of this movement is to awaken and maintain among students an intelligent and active interest in foreign missions; to enroll properly qualified student volunteers to meet the demands of the mission boards; to help prepare such students for their life work; and to use at home volunteers who are not able to go to the front. Student volunteers are drawn from the institutions of higher learning in the United States and Canada. Each volunteer signs the declaration of the movement, which is as follows: "It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary." Three thousand eight hundred and sixty-one volunteers have been sent out to foreign fields of service.

True to its purpose this movement carries on an active educational campaign in almost 1,000 institutions and is awakening an ever widening interest. Twenty-five thousand students are learning of the conditions and needs of their less fortunate brethren in foreign lands through the literature and speakers of the Student Volunteer Movement and are contributing liberally to the work which is being carried on.

Through this student agency it often happens that other students decide to make active social service their life work, and upon investigation decide that in foreign missionary work lies the greatest need and widest opportunity for life investment.

The methods of interesting students are varied but are educational rather than an appeal to proselyte. Knowledge of conditions assures interest. Comparisons are drawn between conditions in China and in America. (I speak of China because it is

the centre of missionary activity.) The ignorance that prevails, the brightness and desire to learn on the part of the people, and the paucity of teachers appeal to men. The great humanitarian service, the charm and gratitude of the people, the heroic lives of men working there, together with the results brought about, stir the hearts of all who study conditions in China. The joy of service and of being loved, of doing what otherwise would not be done, the possibility of restoring sight and health to thousands who must spend their days in darkness and die for want of what any doctor can give, these and many other attractions appeal more than the glitter of wealth at home.

Consider for a moment the work which the Christian Association of the University of Pennsylvania is undertaking in Canton. It is its purpose to establish in China a medical school similar to the great school which a medical missionary from Edinborough founded in this city in 1765 with the prophecy that " this institution may, by sending its graduates abroad, give birth to other institutions of a similar nature." The possibilities for good from such a school among the Chinese are unlimited. To train native doctors, of whom there are at present none, who will carry civilization and Christianity to all parts of China on their ministry of healing is a work worthy of the Master. Yale, Princeton, and other colleges are doing a similar work in China. There seems to be literally a missionary uprising among students.

The appeal of universal brotherhood which faith in the fatherhood of God implies, and which is everywhere being sounded, reaches many besides those brought up in Evangelical Churches. It is the practical Christianity of missions, in behalf of a people whose needs are beyond words, that makes the appeal for foreign workers so attractive to college men irrespective of creed. The same spirit and appeal are sending men and women into settlements and social service work among the foreigners in our cities. If we believe in universal brotherhood why let a few days' journey hold us back from a need many times as great?

Then again to have a part, even though slight, in shaping the future of a great waking land like China appeals to the patriotism of the student who stops to consider what he may thus do for another land and so for his own and for the world. Is it not

our duty to assist if possible in the great revolution which is silently going on and give to China, as she stretches out her arms to secure the best which the West has, all that has been so freely given to us? It is just as essentially a duty for us to give to the Chinese people the highest thoughts of life which we have evolved as that we take to them our best in medical science. Sanitation and a live religion are needs of pressing importance in China today.

In America are many Chinese students seeking the secrets of our civilization. We must give them, not only the best commercial, diplomatic, and technical science that we have, but the most advanced knowledge of religion and the higher life as well, in order that they may return to the new China leaders in every phase of activity and thought. There are 4,000 more Chinese students coming to our schools each year. Have not the liberal churches an opportunity and a duty to these ambitious youths?

With this brief glimpse of the foreign mission situation as it appears to the colleges, let us look at the problem which confronts the liberal student when he considers making such a service his life work. In presenting the fact that there seems to be no means by which a liberal student can go to the foreign field, may I give the experience of a fellow student?

While in college he attended the Northfield Student Conference, where he heard presented for the first time the needs and opportunities of the foreign mission field. The pitiful condition of the people, the great need for men, and the joy of a life of service appealed to him and brought him face to face with the question of his life work. The appeal for men while based on Christian motives was made largely on the ground of brotherhood, of the need abroad and the ability and duty of students in America to seize the opportunity.

The seed there sown germinated and after overcoming many obstacles it became the great desire of this man to go to China as a medical missionary and he entered a medical school.

Conscious that his liberal theology might cause his rejection by the mission boards, yet believing that he was called by a higher authority than they, he began to consider more specifically how he would go out. He offered his services to several organizations

with results somewhat of this nature: Whether he could heal the sick was little questioned and the suffering millions were for the moment forgotten, but did he believe in the infallibility of the Bible, the deity of Jesus and his bodily resurrection? Did he believe that God had eternally damned the heathen for their ignorance of the fact that Jesus Christ was crucified to wipe out their sins? I may not have the exact questions but it was inquiries like these that floored my liberal friend.

The appeal for men is made along philanthropic and humanitarian lines; the test for fitness is doctrinal. In this I believe the recruiting agencies are at fault. Why not come out and say, "We want men to teach to the Chinese the Nicene Creed and the traditions of the Christian Church." This is not what they want done. It is not the spirit of present day missions. The policy of modern missions is far broader than the professions which most of the leaders cling to and demand of their missionaries. The emphasis is elsewhere and the work accomplished is more far-reaching than the gospel preached.

To show that missions are bigger than their professions let us consider some of the effective instruments of field work and in what their success lies. The school, the hospital, the loving service of men and women imbued with the spirit of Jesus, these are the unanswerable arguments which inspire among any people a faith in the things which have brought the missionary among them. Whether they acquiesce in the creed of their leader is immaterial, for it is their faith in him, and from him to the spirit which works in him, which makes of them new men and women.

The far-reaching influence of missions is not in teaching to a people a theology and traditions foreign to them, but in animating those people with the spirit of love which is eternal, in teaching them to overcome the environment which is holding them down, and in instructing them in the arts and sciences which will enable them to use the resources which lie about them. There must be a readjustment of theories to the facts. Many missionaries in the field realize this and are encouraging the natives to develop a Christianity and an organization of their own, inspired by and in touch with, the same spirit which dwelt in Jesus, but fitted to the thought and customs of the people.

The humanitarian service of missions speaks louder than any theological appeal and many men and women subscribe to the doctrinal tests as a matter of course and with little thought, for it is work they want to do. Every once in a while however a man comes along, inspired by the same purpose to serve, who can not conscientiously accept the doctrinal requirements. What is he to do? He may stand patiently by awaiting a more liberal standard in the boards, or perhaps he gives up in disgust his cherished ideal and turns pessimistically to get what he can out of the scramble for wealth.

Many things indicate that there is a distinct place for liberal religion in the East. Far-sighted missionaries agree that the spirit of Christianity must develop its own church and that there is little place for the traditions of the Western Churches. It is attested by many that a rational attitude toward Christianity is the only one acceptable to the educated Eastern mind. The old methods reached only the uneducated lower classes. There is a place and need for a mission to the more intelligent.

There can be no doubt of the failure of the Eastern religions in practice. Such statements come not only from the mission field but Chinese and Japanese students in America acknowledge the failure of their ethics, which lack the spiritual dynamic that vitalizes Christianity. The leaders in Japan are realizing this need in their civilization, and many Chinese thinkers are coming to the same conclusion.

We are here preaching the brotherhood of man. That means all men if it means anything. What are the boundaries of a continent in these days of rapid travel? We believe that we have found, in our broad and liberal faith a way of life, the best we know. If this faith is a reality to us we cannot be satisfied to keep it to ourselves, we are bound by this very faith to become evangelists. Propagation is a natural law of the spiritual life. Missions are the quickening stimulus of the church.

We are on trial. Is the liberal movement mainly an intellectual revolt, or is it a great spiritual purpose as large and dynamic as the orthodoxy it is seeking to displace? If we are to be mere critics of the Christian movement we must be content to see its great achievements performed by others. On the other

hand if "Liberality" means to us something comprehensive and earnest we shall see that we can only make it attractive to the world at large by filling liberalism with a sense of responsibility as large as the world. What better field could we find on which to fight the battle of freedom than that on which it was fought by Paul? Let the liberal churches demand of the mission boards a wider policy or else let them organize a missionary movement themselves. In facing this situation Liberal Christianity is on trial. Is it to be made a theological propaganda or a religious awakening?

The problem of the liberal student of which a solution is asked of this Conference is this: What is the proper outlet for the enthusiasm for foreign religious and humanitarian service which is aroused among those whose theology does not conform to the requirements of the mission boards? Great as is the need at home it does not satisfy the student who has pointed his life toward the foreign field, and who realizes that if he does not do this work it will not be done. Yonder lies a field where he can serve to the utmost of his strength, where he is sorely needed, and where duty bids him go. How is such a man to go? The mission boards do not want him because he cannot subscribe to dogmas which have ceased to carry meaning. Shall he agree to doctrinal tests with mental reservations, believing that the end justifies the means, or must he turn away and forego what to him has become a firm purpose and a life ambition?

RELATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS TO FOREIGN MISSIONS

REV. CLAY MAC CAULEY, OF TOKIO, JAPAN

In beginning his remarks, Mr. MacCauley spoke of having an especial interest in the theme, because he is not only a religious liberal but also a foreign missionary. For eleven years he had been in Japan, representing there the American Unitarian Association. The Unitarian mission to Japan was exceptional among missionary enterprises, in that it was established in response to an invitation given by some representative Japanese, who were desirous of having the rational side of the religion of

Western civilization presented to their people, by an acknowledged Western liberal. The Japanese are eminently a rationalizing people, and liberalism in religion is peculiarly congenial to them.

"But," continued the speaker, "apart from my Japanese experience, this theme interests me greatly. The time has fully come, I believe, when religious liberals are called upon to take a sympathetic interest in mission work generally; a practical sympathy, that shall be, in fact, not less inclusive than the whole habitation of mankind. If any group of kindred men and women is summoned to go into all the world to preach their gospel to every creature, it is, I am confident, the religious liberals. This is a bold assertion, I know, but I do not make it without good reason. Of course, I do not believe that all mankind are to be eternally ruined unless they are saved through our gospel. That belief may be the motive impulse that distinguishes the foreign missions of many of the Christian churches. Necessarily, it is not mine. Nor do I believe that it is our duty to assume that we possess the only revelation of God's will to man, and that, therefore, we should attempt to substitute our knowledge for the false faiths that other peoples hold. There are many foreign missions that are established and supported because of this conviction. Needless to say, that the reason for the claim I make does not lie here.

But, I do believe that as religious liberals we have received, and are actuated by, certain inestimable principles and faiths, which we are in duty bound to make known, and to seek to make vitally inspiring, not only among ourselves, but among our immediate associates; and not only throughout our near environment, but to the measure of our ability and opportunity among our fellow countrymen; and yet more, even among our fellowmen everywhere, however remote from us, or different from us, in nationality or race. This duty would be more or less imperative at any time to those who should come to think as we think, to feel as we feel, and to be inspired with the faiths that have been aroused in our minds and hearts. But, in the present age, this duty commands with peculiar urgency. Within the near past, becoming a fact of

world wide inclusiveness now, it has happened that all the children of man have been brought into an intimacy of association, into a vital interdependence and thereby into a community of prosperity and adversity, such as have never been known before since the dispersing migrations of primeval mankind. Explicitly, just what I mean is this. For the first time in known human history, an era of universal internationalism has been opened, and is now fast gaining full dominion throughout humanity. Internationalism — it is not too much to say,— has become the most potent force in man's collective life. Under a craving for conquest and wider mastery, impelled by avarice, stimulated by desire for knowledge, peoples who were fortunate in possessing superior power and prowess have for ages built up and broken down barriers between lands and nations. But, in these later days, by means of miraculous mechanical discoveries and inventions, all the continents and islands of the planet have been brought within easy and quick intercommunication, and forced into increasing interrelationships. Navigation by steam, swift railways, the printing press, books and newspapers, the telegraph and the telephone, are fast making the world one expanse of open ports, of public highways, of daily published records of events and opinion. And more than this, in many lands hosts of the denizens of the world, from places near and farthest away, are coming and going, interchanging homes and labor.

But, note what specific forces have been dominant in the progress of the marvellous new age that now is. The forces which have animated and guided the civilization which is our own birthright and heritage have been its chief source, and have hitherto impelled it. The internationalism that is now beginning to actuate all nations, was started from Europe and America. Beginning with maritime adventure and discovery accompanied by war and spoliation, more peaceful commercial ventures were made, leading alien peoples at length into voluntary trade, then into friendly treaties and at last into the give and take of mutual helpfulness and good fellowship. Gradually from Europe and America the less favored peoples began to receive the influences and instrumentalities of a superior civilization and to use them for their own larger and higher development. Some peoples have

sought us, of the West, that they might appropriate, and we have gone to them of the far away parts of the earth that we might give, our mechanical inventions, our industrial methods, our scientific discoveries, our literary treasures, and even our political aims and forms of civic organization. In many foreign lands, in recent years, European and American merchants, manufacturers and scholars, and numerous teachers of the sciences, arts, letters, economics and politics have found homes, and have given freely of their abundance, thereby helping the backward races to move forward speedily to positions approximating our own in power, wealth and knowledge.

Of course, in matters of religious faith and practice the peoples of Christendom have not been indifferent or idle during the development of the new internationalism. Should Christianity ever cease to be a missionary faith, it would cease to be at all, as a living thing. But as Christianity is yet very much alive, one of the most aggressive and powerful accompaniments of the world's growing internationalism has been the abounding missionary activity of the churches of Christendom. The Catholic churches — both Greek and Roman — the Protestant denominations, orthodox and evangelical, without exception, so far as I know, have followed hard upon whatever commercial or other agencies have opened ways for them, into whatever lands or peoples, to preach the gospel of Christ as they believe it, obeying the supreme injunction of their Lord, hoping thus to bring upon the whole earth the Kingdom of Heaven of which Jesus was prophet.

Now, I would not decry in any way this universal outward and onward movement of the churches of Christ; their zeal in utilizing the maturing internationalism of humanity in favor of their cherished faiths. Far from it. Rather would I emphasize the claim that it is the duty of religious liberals to do likewise for their own faith, and to do this to the full measure of their ability.

Since, therefore, it is the avowed conviction of liberals in religion, that reason is far better than superstitition; that mental freedom is far more ennobling than slavery of mind; that generosity of judgment is more conducive to human happiness than bigotry; that character is a worthier exponent of the worth of

a life than a formal creed or the practice of an ordained sacrament, and that love, service and peace are the crowning gains possible for social humanity, it is inevitable that we, as religious liberals, should not allow any of mankind to be alien to us or remain beyond our sympathetic touch. If, indeed, religious liberals do not make earnest efforts towards world-wide missionary work, their only justifiable excuse is want of power, not want of will, to engage in such work. It is my conviction that for religious liberalism the range of its sympathy should be bounded by no less a domain than that of mankind, and the extent of its missionary work should be limited only by the means it has at command.

The relation of Religious Liberals to Foreign Missions is, then, I hold, one of cordial sympathy, and of as wide a coöperation in supporting them as there are means to use. Distance of land or race should not embarrass this duty. There is as much reason for liberals to proclaim and to live their faiths among the peoples of Asia and Africa, as among the peoples of Europe and America. So then, I dare to hope that the day is sure to come, when this National Federation of Religious Liberals, now holding its first congress, is to be only one of many like leagues, gathered in many lands, all which shall be affiliated with one mighty International Council, through which pure religion shall be increased the world around, and mankind be led forward into a perfected unity of the spirit, in the bonds of peace. Then, will the true Kingom of God at last be near: — all of diverse mankind will have begun to realize a divine brotherhood; a fellowship of good will, of mutual helpfulness and peace."

THIRD TOPIC OF THE CONGRESS,

"RELIGIOUS AND MODERN LIFE."

THE RELIGION OF DEMOCRACY AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE CAREER OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

REV. JENKIN LLOYD JONES, MINISTER ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE, CHICAGO, ILL.

"We'se got him now; he surely belongs to us to-day!" sobbed the colored woman as she leaned against the iron grating looking towards the White House wherein the body of the great Emancipator lay, she herself too much broken to join the sad procession that was seeking a last look at the benignant face. At that very moment the kings and queens of monarchical Europe, the poets and philosophers of many nations, were sending their floral wreaths to lay upon his bier.

"He belongs to the ages now!" were the first words that broke the silence when the labored breath ceased in the death chamber. And those oracular words were spoken by the Secretary of War; one who long before there was thought of presidential chair, cabinets or war problems in connection with Mr. Lincoln, had rudely dismissed with undisguised contempt the awkward lawyer from Illinois; he who had offered perhaps the most humiliating indignity ever experienced by the humble backwoodsman and hard-working lawyer of the prairies. The Illinois Central Railway Company had learned to trust the judgment and ability of the Springfield attorney; and had sent him to take part in an important suit at Cincinnati. But the smart, accomplished, elegant, popular advocate, E. M. Stanton, disdained such help. Lincoln pocketed his humiliation, profited by his experience, and returned, saying: "I have come back home to study law harder than ever."

When the great trial came and the President wanted a man he could trust, a man who would be alert, a will that was irresistible for Secretary of War, he selected this same Stanton who,

during the earlier years of his incumbency, at least, distrusted the judgment of his chief, was tried by his patience, resented his leniency, and oftentimes protested against his mercy. And still, this was the man who broke the awful desolation of the death chamber with the prophetic words:

"Now he belongs to the ages!"

Greatness always confuses the classification of the psychologist, escapes the definitions of the philosopher, and refuses to wear the labels of the dogmatist and the sectarian and the partisan. The character of Abraham Lincoln baffles analysis. He was independent of convention, indifferent to the proprieties; he resented the safeguards that seem to belong to power, but ever found his way into the sympathies, then into the confidence, at last into the admiration and reverence of rich and poor, black and white, high and low. At his death friends and foes alike were in tears; the nations mourned. Jefferson Davis, the humiliated president of the lost cause, he who had gathered and directed armies for the destruction of that nation to the preservation of which Lincoln gave his last drop of blood, exclaimed:

"Next to the day when its armies surrendered, the day of Lincoln's death was the blackest ever known by the people of the South!"

Lincoln's democracy has been traced to his sincerity, sympathy, ambition, lowly birth, love of humor, the absence of the sophistication of the formal training and the complications of polite society,— and all of these are true; each of these claims can be justified by ample illustrations. His personality is so pervasive; it sticks out everywhere. It is impossible to deal to any extent in argument concerning Lincoln, because illustrations are so pertinent. One cannot discuss his character abstractly; the fullness of his life intrudes; your logical processes, like his, are cut short with the irrepressible,— "That reminds me."

No one to-day will deny that Lincoln is the best beloved man of the century; that he is rapidly becoming one of the best beloved men of the race; that he is clearly one of the few profoundly true, fundamental democrats afforded by history.

I would like to spend the few moments allotted me in trying

to emphasize the fact that this democracy was rooted in the essential fundamentals of religion. Or, to put it another way,— that his democracy sprang out of the profound religiousness of his nature, his piety and patience, the smiles and the tears that justified Walt Whitman's claim that "He is the grandest figure on all the crowded canvas of the nineteenth century," it sprang out of his sublime sense of justice, his undying faith in righteousness, his entire consecration to the decisions of the Eternal scales which without fear and without favor measure to each his just dues.

Dr. Cuyler's recent word in the Homiletic Review calls Lincoln "the most religious ruler since Cromwell," and then hastens, very fittingly as I think, to remove this exception. The early stories that tell of his closing the store and walking three miles to return the few coppers that would right the wrong change in the purchase of a pound of tea; the long kept little bag of coin which was the balance due the post office department, waiting for the official to come and claim it; the exact way in which he divided the fees that came into the law partnership, putting the partner's half into an envelope before daring to use his own; the heroic way in which he faced the ominous debt imposed upon him by an unscrupulous partner, from which the law and public sentiment would easily have released him, a debt so ominous that it seemed to mortgage his whole life, a veritable "national debt," as he called it, from which he did not shrink until the last farthing was paid, and from which he did not escape until his congressional fees in Washington helped him out,— all point to the fundamentals of religion which demand as well as inspire a democracy such as Lincoln exemplified.

But this honesty is inadequately represented by the cash book. When asked how he came to be called "Honest Abe," he replied: "I do not know, unless it is that I was never worth a cent in a case the righteousness of which I doubted, but when I believed I was in the right I was mighty hard to shake off."

"Make no promises; I will abide by none," was his message to the friends of the Chicago convention of 1860 who wanted to make his nomination doubly sure by a little skillful trading. To the second convention at Baltimore, in answer to a long confi-

dential letter from his secretary, Nicolay, asking instructions concerning vice-presidents and platforms, he returned the document with a four-line endorsement:

"Wish not to interfere about vice-presidents; cannot interfere about platforms; convention must judge for itself."

"If anyone must do this I will do it," was his response to the patronizing Secretary of State who kindly assumed, in the early weeks of the administration, that he must piece out the President's indecision and inefficiency. Lincoln could be as harsh as truth, and consequently he was gentle as love and tender as mercy. He sent the noisy Vallandigham beyond the line, but pardoned the deserting boy, whose courage and loyalty were weakened by the pathos of the Ohio agitator. Of the young soldier under sentence of death for desertion, whose record showed previous bravery, he said, trying to break the rigid rules of war without offending the captains thereof:

"Did you say he was once badly wounded?"

"He was."

"Then, as the scripture says, 'In the shedding of blood is the remission of sins,' we will have to let him off."

Says Holland, in the most just and penetrating of the early lives of Lincoln:

"He had always been a reconciler of difficulties between men."

And again:

"There never lived a man more considerate of human weakness than Abraham Lincoln. . . . Charity, pity, mercy, sympathy, were virtues that reigned in the White House during Mr. Lincoln's occupation of it."

Next to his sense of justice we find at the root of his character, at the heart of his being, a marvelous patience. He rested in the thought of the Eternal. What a thorn in the flesh he was to the abolitionists. For many months their impatience with his hesitancy led them to doubt his sincerity. They knew not the rock upon which his character rested. "If anything is wrong, slavery is wrong," was the clue not only to his hatred of it but the root of his triumph over it. This gave him the power to discriminate

between things primary and things secondary. He could "wait on the Lord," when human vision and human power failed. He could change his mind and say so. He could disagree with another and still cleave to him, be just to him, love him. This often made him a trial to his friends and an enigma to his enemies.

After the battle of Gettysburg he wrote a sharp letter to General Meade, expressing his bitter disappointment of his action or lack of action after the victory: "Your golden opportunity is gone; I am distressed immeasurably because of it." But the letter was never sent. Seven days later he wrote:

"I am now profoundly grateful for what has been done, without criticism for what was not done. General Meade has my confidence as a brave and scholarly officer and as a true man."

A similar confession of mistakes came promptly to Grant after the Vicksburg triumph, and to Sherman after the march to the sea.

This ability to endure the deliberation of the stars, to abide the patience of the Eternal, is strikingly illustrated in his many amnesty proclamations, of which not less than eight, probably more, were issued. Over and over again he held out the olive branch to all kinds of wrong-doers whose sins might be traced to weakness, ignorance, the unconscious bias of heredity or environment. He was the "Prince of Pardoners," but never to the confusion of main issues. The petition of "a large number of respectable citizens" carried less weight with him than did the tears of a little girl from Pennsylvania, who had come to plead for her brother's life. He said to her:

"Poor child! here are no governors, senators or army officers to plead your case for you, and you wear no hoops. I'll be bound, I'll pardon your brother!"

His appeal was ever to the "better angel of our natures."

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present conditions, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations with His eternal truth and justice be on your side, of the North, or on yours of the South,

that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people."

One phase of Lincoln's administration has never been adequately told. His unmeasured devotion to the idea of compensated emancipation has never been appreciated. From considerations of justice and right as well as policy and economy, how persistently he labored to find a just way out of the entanglements of slavery, realizing that it was a national and not a local sin, and that we were all responsible for the belated barbarism of our civilization.

These fundamental religious qualities in Lincoln are also the fundamental elements of democracy. Lincoln dared to compose his cabinet of his rivals and his opponents,— those who distrusted him and sometimes worse than distrusted. His entire career gives high denial to the specious fallacy that is working such mischief in current politics, viz., that this is a government by party, while in truth this government makes and unmakes parties. Parties are tolerable only so far as they stand for real issues and the conflict that springs out of honest differences of opinion concerning fundamental principles.

This made of him a civic prophet, a political evangelist. In the nineteenth century A. D., like him in the eighth century B. C., he proved also to be a religious prophet. The man of the state was the holy man of the church; his was the power to make weak men strong, halting men bold. While Lincoln wrought consciously for the United States, unconsciously he wrought for the progress of the world. How his insight gave to him foresight! How he anticipated the problems of to-day! Away back as a young man, in his first political career, when but twenty-four years old, he declared for woman's right to the ballot. In an early address to the Sons of Temperance he said:

"The reasonable men of the world have long since agreed that intemperance is one of the greatest if not the very greatest of all evils among mankind."

How he anticipated that thing which in these days we call "Commercialism,"— the passion to speculate, even in front of the battle! In his first annual message he raised a warning voice, anticipating the labor problem:

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration."

How he hated the office-seeker! He was "glad when he had the varioloid, because he now had something to give which the office-seekers would not want." "I might do something to save the country if I could only be released from the clamoring horde of office-seekers who demand my attention at one end of the house while the home is on fire at the other end." The office-seeker he compared to the little boy who wanted the captain to stop the steamboat in the midst of the rapids that he might recover his apple which had fallen overboard.

Away back in 1837 in his address to a young men's lyceum at Springfield, when but twenty-eight years of age, he uttered these remarkable words, which in the light of subsequent history glow with the imperishable glory of divine illumination:

"Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

In thus trying to discover the fundamental elements of Abraham Lincoln, I do not know whether I have been reaching for the foundations of democracy or of religion. The words grow interchangeable in the last analysis. Aristocracy in its very nature is impious. Sectarianism in religion is a menace to devotion, an indignity to reverence, as partisanship is a menace to patriotism and an indignity to the state. Lincoln is the great democrat and consequently the great prophet of religion, not chiefly by virtue of anything he said, deathless as were his sayings; not primarily for anything he did, sublime as were his achievements, but by what he was. All great men belong to humanity; in their pres-

ence sectionalism, castes, creeds, partisanship, slink out of sight. Nobility blurs all labels, shames our sectarian conceits and our racial arrogance.

Says Carlyle:

"Great men are the inspired texts of that divine book of revelation whereof a chapter is completed from epoch to epoch, and by some named 'history.'"

Call the roll of earth's noblest and we find the names that no one dare write into the muster rolls of parties, denominations, families or nationalities; they are too large for such a scroll. A great man is the keystone of the arch that unites what otherwise would be the unrelated masonry of the human family. A great soul, like the splendid bridge at Niagara, unites with links of steel the nations otherwise separated by turbid tides. The heart of Lincoln was an Atlantic cable whose electric veins transmitted sympathies, hopes and aspirations, which quickened bosoms separated by the billows that bathe the distant shores of continents. With what conceit did the small Athenians and Spartans look over their little walls into the country of the Barbarians. But Socrates and Plato looked over into Egypt, Jerusalem, and far-off Persia. From the high peaks of humanity, Zoroaster, Buddha, Confucius, Moses, Pythagoras, Dante, Luther, Lincoln, in the signal corps of God, flash fraternal greetings from kingdom to kingdom, from creed to creed, from sect to sect. Brotherhood is flashed from land to land, from age to age, by the great souls of humanity, of which Lincoln was a type.

German provincialism died when Lessing and Schiller were born; the despised Island lost its insular quality when Shakespeare wrote; the demand of the thirteen emaciated colonies was a feeble one, provoking contempt, but such a demand ceased to be despicable when their claims were urged by Franklin, Paine, Jefferson and Washington.

So democracy becomes noble; the backwoodsman grows regal and the log cabin classic when Lincoln appears. Brotherhood is the gift of the great; fraternity is enforced of the noble. The "Heathen Chinee" ceases to be the butt of ridicule when one remembers that the blood of Confucius flows in his veins,— the man who said:

"The man who in the view of gain thinks of righteousness; who in the view of danger is prepared to give up his life; who does not forget an old agreement, however far back it extends,— such a man may be reckoned a complete man."

The Irishman is no longer the despised "Paddy" on the railroad when we remember that Emmett, O'Connor, Goldsmith and More were Irishmen. The most volatile Frenchman is prompt to claim fellowship with the most phlegmatic German through Goethe and Von Humboldt. Those only write the word "negro" with two "g's" who have never felt the inspiration that goes in the story of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. Party lines and sectional differences vanish when we mention the names of Victor Hugo, John Bright and Garibaldi; even the bloody chasm between North and South is filled or forgotten in the presence of Charles Sumner, Alexander Stephens, Robert E. Lee and General Grant.

So Lincoln stands a conspicuous landmark in the history of the race, a prophet of the living God, not through any favorable combination of circumstances or peculiarity of character, but by reason of the fundamental bulk of his spirit.

In his presence the small and mean limitations of life are measured in their fitting proportions. Great men teach us humility; they drive us out of our egotism. As Emerson says: "They are lenses through which we read our own minds." Again he says: "The true artist has a planet for his pedestal; an adventurer nothing broader than his own shoes." Lincoln broadens our sympathies, widens our fellowship, lifts our ideals beyond the power of his words or even the achievements of his pen. This is the truth in Emerson's saying, "All institutions are but the lengthened shadows of some great soul." Whitman asks us to estimate Lincoln by trying to imagine what the United States would now be without him.

To-day with equal force we can ask: "What would the religious life of America be without Lincoln?" Last February all creeds and confessions united in honoring as a prophet of religion, a confessor of souls, the man who belonged to no church, and to lay claim upon whom, by any sect or creed, is obvious insolence,

unwarranted by facts. His universality was the universality of the Golden Rule, the inclusiveness of the Beatitudes, the comprehensiveness of the Ten Commandments.

But great men have their dangers as well as their uses. Whenever we dig a chasm between us and the most brilliant we rob ourselves of their helpfulness. Genius is no miracle. "Great men" is a misnomer; "Greater men" is the truer term; aye, "Man" without an adjective ought to stand for them. We, the pigmies, the small and the mean men, ought to carry adjectives. The manliest Spirit of the race by way of emphasis chose the term "Son of Man." Not the bigot, the tyrant, but the hero and the martyr are the measures of a man. Great souls deal not in second-hand virtues; their excellencies are stamped, like railroad tickets, "Not transferable" and "Good for this trip only."

Would we be helped by Lincoln we must, like him, look forward and not back; we must, like him, lend the hand, dare the deed, be the fraternity he teaches and advance the coöperation and brotherhood he so magnificently exemplified.

The old contention was "the church or the state." Now in America our effort is in the main to maintain the church and the state, but in the confession of Abraham Lincoln,— the Church of Democracy — it will be "the church for the state," which may be something very like what Jesus meant by "the kingdom of God that is at hand."

EVOLUTION AND RELIGION: RELIGION'S DEBT TO CHARLES DARWIN (1809–1909)

REV. CHARLES E. ST. JOHN

Under the name of Charles Darwin we give honor to the strongest influence that has touched the religious world in modern times. Evolutionary thought existed centuries before Darwin lived; and the theory of evolution, as formulated by Darwin, has received not a little modification at the hands of scientific men since he died. Nevertheless, Darwin's work was so thorough and conclusive that we commonly associate with his name the influence

which the theory of evolution has exerted upon scientific and religious thought in our age.

In so far as this merit may justly be attributed to Charles Darwin, we must recognize in him the originator of the most revolutionary thought that the Christian world has known. Evolution has taken its stand as the indisputable interpreter of creation and development, and of the relations that exist between God and man. Science, philosophy, and religion fall into order at its touch, while each reinforces its arguments by specific study. Geology, astronomy, biology, history, and — last of all — the higher criticism of the Bible, work hand in hand in establishing the truth that creation has been a long-continued and natural process.

When Darwin forced upon humanity the consideration of the theory of evolution, he was for a long time stoutly opposed by a large part of the Christian world. Naturally this theory was resisted by those who held that the Bible contains the first and final utterance of God; that the Old Testament is full of predictions of the coming of Jesus Christ; and that the stories of creation, the fall of man, and the existence of a personal devil are to be accepted as divine revelations. These views and all creeds founded upon them are shattered beyond repair by Darwin's work; for evolution takes up the Bible and Jesus, who is the heart of the Bible, into a grander, all-inclusive revelation.

Let us examine, for a moment, the changed aspect of the universe that evolution has set forth. Behold the expanse of the universe! A ray of light, which travels one hundred and eighty-six thousand miles in a second, requires fifty years to travel from the North Star to our earth: it requires four million years to reach our earth from the farthest known star. In the universe, as now known to astronomers, there are not less than twenty million suns, each the centre of a planetary system at least as important as our own. Statistics now reveal to us at least one hundred and sixty million stars, and at least one thousand nebulæ, each one like unto the magnificent Milky Way, which spans our earthly skies. The four million years during which the light now impinging upon earth has been flying straight onward irresistibly implies an unimaginable period of millions of years preceding.

Behold, again, the conception of time as revealed in our earth to the modern mind! The science of evolution has fully established the fact that man has existed upon the earth not less than fifty thousand years. For that period he has existed in a physical form practically as good as that he possesses to-day. We can merely imagine the vast period preceding, during which his physical ancestors were making good their stand upon earth. Evolution has established the fact that at least three hundred and fifty million years have been required for the development of the earth into conditions which would support life.

Consider, finally, the new conception of law that evolution bestows! The modern mind is convinced that there is a natural cause back of every fact or condition, and that the processes of Nature have always been uniform in character and free from any unnatural change that could be termed a miracle. Evolution not merely leaves no place for miracles but magnificently sets forth uniformity and the orderly process of cause and effect as the grandest conceivable method of creation and development.

What, now, is the application of this conception of evolution to religion? Is there any place left for God? Let me say frankly that, if there were no place left for God, I, for one, should be convinced that evolution is all a mistake. So long as any person feels that the acceptance of this brilliant modern doctrine threatens his faith in God and his love, let that person persistently reject the new idea. It is more important to believe in God, it is living nearer to the truth to believe in God, than to follow any line of thought, howsoever enticing, which makes it impossible for one to believe in God. I am happy in making this statement, because personally I have found the doctrine of evolution to be the greatest help that I have ever received in the strengthening of my faith in God. Evolution comes as a distinct reinforcement of religion, not as a thought destined to supplant faith. I cannot undertake to speak for all evolutionists or for all believers in God. Let me content myself with setting forth before you my own way of combining the knowledge of God and the use of evolutionary thought.

Let us start, then, with God, a spiritual being existing apart

from all form and consisting of perfect love, wisdom, and righteousness. God, the Eternal Spirit, who has forever existed, and to whom time is nothing, cannot conceivably have an opponent. There can be no power that is able to defy him or interfere with his thought and work. There is no standing ground for Satan. Conceive of such a God as this existing alone. His very nature demands companionship, appreciation. He must needs express himself: unexpressed intelligence is futile. God must act: he must create. To such a being creation is self-expression, and that self-expression must go on until it produces minds that are competent to receive and understand the expressions of the Almighty. Thus in the very being of God the need existed for a "world of men,"— some creatures, at any rate, to whom God could speak, and who should be his loving companions forever.

Furthermore, there has always existed, in my imagination, the eternal possibility of God's expressing himself, and the teachings of modern science provide this eternal possibility. If I understand the scientific thought of the time, it is reasonable to believe that, underlying all forms of matter, there is a mysterious substance called ether, which is eternal in its existence and limitless in its extent; which, further, is in itself motionless and without friction. This conception of the physical universe holds that every smallest particle of matter consists of variously arranged vortex rings of ether. I am compelled to believe, therefore, that the beginning of the universe was at the instant when there first appeared in the limitless and motionless expanse of ether motion, which consisted of whirling vortex rings, infinitesimally minute.

What should start that first motion? Nothing less than the thought of God. Ether was God's opportunity; and creation, from the beginning until now, has been the process whereby God has used his opportunity for self-expression and the putting forth of power. God, the Eternal Mind, thought motion; and the thought produced motion.

So divine self-expression went on through unimaginable periods of time, building up atoms from vortex rings, and physical elements out of atoms; producing gases and heat and light, and, finally, enormous masses of flaming gas.

I cannot take time to describe the processes so wonderfully set

forth in astronomical and geological works, whereby, through cooling and centrifugal force, mass after mass was thrown off from central whirling bodies, each to produce, in the process of development, systems, suns, stars, and worlds. I cannot follow the cooling of each globe, until it became a solid body giving forth light and heat. I can but remind you that out of this wonderful process our little earth at last came into existence, and in the course of the three hundred and fifty million years of its modern development, found itself prepared for the support of life.

And how came life to start upon the earth? No man knows. As a man of religion, I believe that it came, as the whole creative process before had come, out of the orderly and inevitable course of the thinking of God. At some critical moment God was able to think life, as an inevitable result of the conditions of creation that had led up to that instant. From that time on, this life has proceeded with an orderly development like that which has ruled in the material universe. Forms of life have followed one another, each one the natural result of the preceding one, and each one a perfect expression of a new thought of God.

Through form after form God has sent forth his thought, until at last he brought forth man. Human life, in all its aspects, is part of the natural order of things. In his physical form man is a product of some lower creature. Let me say, incidentally, that it is not thought by evolutionists that mankind has descended from the apes and monkeys. On the contrary, the physical ancestors of mankind are wholly unknown. Evolution simply teaches that both man and the apes have sprung from some common ancestor, the exact nature of which is unknown. All that we can at present say of our origin is that at some remote time, more than fifty thousand years ago, there appeared, in the process of physical development, a creature, or a little group of creatures, possessed of exceptional qualities,— qualities that enabled them to stand erect and to begin to articulate speech. Man was in sight when these ancestors of his felt within them a power of orderly thought, which could make them masters over all other creatures. Man was born when this power of thought became great enough to express itself. In short, man was created when he became a living soul.

With man evolution became a moral and spiritual process. It

became a process which is intelligible to itself, as well as to God. God now has reached the culmination of his creation, having produced beings who can read his thoughts and appreciate them. God, who has hitherto simply expressed himself, henceforth expresses himself to intelligences that respond and, in their turn, express themselves to God. Man becomes the discoverer of truth. Man takes control of his own life, builds up a social order, establishes civilizations, and develops systems of thought and religion.

Everything that concerns human life comes to pass and finds its development under the same magnificent uniform process which we call evolution. Take our Bible, for instance. It can no longer be looked upon as a law from above, written miraculously by the finger of God, as upon tables of stone, and set forth, to an ignorant age, as a divine law whereby man shall live. On the contrary, we can now see that the Bible is one of many human attempts at self-expression. Mankind has produced the Bible as God produced the universe, by a natural process of setting forth experience and thought. There came a time in the development of mankind when one group of men in Eastern lands grew nearer to God in their thoughts than men had done before, found by experience certain laws of conduct, certain helpful methods of religious expression, certain visions of the relation that should exist between man and God. In that group of devout men, one after another appeared competent to put into words the experience and aspirations of the Hebrew nation; and so they wrote our Bible, out of the natural experience of mankind and the intelligent thought of the times.

This removes from the Bible all supernatural power and causes it to stand among men upon its own merits. Studying the Bible thus, we discover it to possess the defects of the age which produced it, as well as the merits. Studied thus, the Bible still holds its ground as the most helpful compilation of religious literature which human experience has thus far set forth.

I hardly need add that, to the evolutionist, Jesus came by the same process that has produced the Bible. He, too, is of purely human origin and nature, and an expression of human experience. There came a time, in the steady advance of things human, when the grandest voice of the ages could speak, setting forth the fun-

damental ideas of religion. Jesus was that voice, and he must remain for all time the foundation of the moral and religious life; for in him, at last, mankind expressed perfectly the relation between man and God. He understood God, and his life inspires us to understand God. He is the world's greatest leader.

What, then, to the evolutionist, becomes of evil and sin? If there be no devil, and if the entire creation has been the inevitable result of orderly processes of an Infinite Mind, then all conditions that exist must be a part of that process, however terrible and desolating they may be. Yes, that is precisely the evolutionary point of view. What we, in our impatience, our desire for the perfect life, call evils and calamities are inevitable in a growing world. The universe is merely in a stage of development. It is as good as it could be made up to this moment. It must pass through every stage, in order to win to the end. If we are to have a world capable of producing life, it has to be made just as this world has been made, by processes of law, which involve temporary harshness in the working out of ultimate good. The earth must shrink and throw off its heat, to maintain the conditions that support life. This process cannot take place without those readjustments of the surface of the earth which we call earthquakes even though earthquakes involve occasional calamity for man and his works. Man is better served by this earth than he could be by any other.

Look for a moment, also, at the moral development of mankind. Development is better than stationary goodness. Character, to be of any value, has to be won. The child that has never been tempted is a child of wholly unknown capacity: we cannot call it good. We become good only when we have, one by one, chosen good things as against evil. Character is always a matter of personal decision. It rests upon choice,— the right choice. This means that there must always be the possibility of doing wrong. Without that there could be no meaning in goodness; certainly, no progress in righteousness. Sin is still in our midst because we so often make wrong decisions, not because God put it here for the discipline of our souls. He gives us the power of choice. Our growth in character springs from our choice. Sin

stays here so long as we continue to choose unwisely or selfishly amid the possibilities of life.

Finally, let me, as a religious man, claim that I find in evolution the best argument for immortality that has ever come to me. Who is not oppressed by the imperfections of the present time? Resting upon all human life are limitations, troubles, and sorrows, almost too great to be endured. We do not fully understand the slowness of God's creative work. We are oppressed by the heaviness of the burdens that come to many of his children; and we are all of us, sooner or later, brought to the mood, almost of despair, which led Tennyson to say:—

"O, yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pangs of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt and taints of blood;

"That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete.

"So runs my dream; but what am I?
An infant crying in the night:
An infant crying for the light:
And with no language but a cry."

No language but a cry! Ah, but the power that there is in a human cry! The power that there is in a baby's cry, when it reaches the mother's tender heart, the power there is in mankind's cry for justice!

Hear my cry, O God. I am a prehistoric barbarian. I have been born under limited and cruel conditions. I have never grasped the thought of a loving and only God. I live amid bloodshed and cruel selfishness. Ages are yet to pass upon earth before Jesus and holy men like him reveal to men the real nature of the heavenly Father. Am I to die and pass out of existence, ignorant of all that future years of earth shall reveal?

Hear my cry, O God. I am a negro. I am doomed on earth to a restricted sphere. Many scorn me because of my color and

my ignorance. I am shut out from the larger and finer possibilities of human life. I am not considered worthy to stand with other men. But, O God, shall I never have equality? Can life bring to me nothing but servitude?

Hear my cry, O God! I am a little girl, an unhappy child, only ten years of age, living in a crowded tenement in the ugliest part of a great city. I cannot see the sky from my window. I have never seen a blade of grass growing. Foul odors and vicious associations have been around me from my birth. My father is a drunkard, and did my mother to death by his cruelty. I am worn to a skeleton, taking care of my little brothers and sisters, and enduring myself my father's brutality. I cringe whenever I hear my father's step, and I know that he will cause my death some time. O God, is that all there is to life for me?

Hear my cry, O God! I am a cripple. My physical strength was taken from me by an accident in a great mill, where I was a laborer. I had to work there, to gain my living. I did not cause the accident, but all the remainder of my physical life I must suffer from it. I can no longer earn my living. In time I shall die, having had nothing but torture and suffering while I lived upon earth. O God, is that all there is to life for me?

Hear my cry, O God! I am a sinner. From my boyhood I have been wilful and selfish. Those that would have helped me I have scorned; but, on the whole, the conditions of my life have not been helpful. They have tended, or have seemed to tend, to make me headstrong and vicious. Justly or unjustly, up to this time I have done wrong and have been a foe to human society. I shall die, it is likely, a violent death some day. Is that all there is to life for me?

I, barbarian, negro, unhappy child, cripple, sinner, human being limited by conditions that I did not wholly cause, claim justice from existence. I claim justice from God. I protest against any closed doors: I protest against the cessation of opportunity. I, who have had so little thus far, protest against the bare idea of a hell that could close upon me the doors of opportunity. I, the human race, lift up an eager and indignant voice against any final judgment that shall check the development of the moral possibilities that lie within me, within every soul born into this world. Every

soul is conscious of power, of capacity,— has some vision, however dim, of better things; and all souls, singly and together, call out to God for life, for opportunity, for freedom, for growth.

And what is God's answer to this universal prayer? Simply this: "My child, look about you. See what I have done. Consider the evolution that has gone on through ages too great to be understood by you, until, through these tremendous processes, you have been brought into being,— you, the being after my own nature; the being who at last can hear my voice, understand my thinking and be my companion. Think how I have wrought to bring you forth, through the unimaginable ages! And shall I, the Lord God Almighty, fail at last, on the very threshold of the heaven that I have been so long creating?" Such is God's illuminating answer to the cry of the human soul. Let it be further enunciated, as is done by John Burroughs in his essay entitled "The Long Road," in the words, "When suddenly, in the day before yesterday in the geological year, a new and strange animal appears, with new and strange powers; separated from the others by what appears an impassable gulf; less specialized in his bodily powers than the others, but vastly more specialized in his brain and mental powers; instituting a new order of things upon the earth, the face of which he in time changes, through his new gift of reason; inventing tools and weapons and language; harnessing the physical forces to his own ends; and putting all things under his feet,— man, the wonder-worker, the beholder of the stars, the critic and spectator of creation itself, the thinker of the thoughts of God, the worshipper, the devotee, the hero, spreading rapidly over the earth, and developing with prodigious stride, when once fairly launched upon his career."

Ah, yes! Man is no new species, to be cut off in the development of a growing universe. Here, at last, are souls, something more enduring than bodies, with all their beauty, their forcefulness. If we but prepare the way for a lovelier race to have its day and die, the cost in pain and tears is too great. Pave the way of progress, if you like, with dead corals and overthrown trees, lost paleozoic monsters, and other creatures to be found now only in the fossils of the rocks; pave the way of progress with shifting seas, changing continents, and falling stars,— and

the results justify the sacrifice and the change. Pave the way of progress, still, with my personal strength, my happiness, my early death, if necessary. Let human conditions be improved by my suffering throughout my life; but do not, I charge you, pave the way of progress with my dead soul. That would be too great a sacrifice, for it would mean the cutting off of limitless possibilities that lie within me.

No; the individual soul is the object unto which all these ages of God's work have tended. A soul cut off absolutely is an irreparable loss to God, and his creation. Dying, whether in crime or in heroism, in defeat or in victory, in disease, in calamity, or in old age, I must yet go on, I will go on. My cry is not for earth and its green fields and ease, not for a place of golden streets and lovely mansions,— nothing of the kind. My cry is, and shall always be, for justice, for light, for knowledge, for opportunity, for righteousness; and evolution convinces me that this cry goes not unheeded,— is, indeed, but an expression of the wonderful power that God has produced in us by the process of evolution. And so evolution proclaims the immortality of the soul with a power that has never before been put into the proclamation.

The modern thought of evolution has, in short, increased our knowledge of God and his work, deepened our conception of the possibilities of our own lives, enlarged our patience and our hope. It has given us the open mind, and filled that mind with vision. It has broadened our faith, making that faith reasonable. It has given us the spirit of tolerance, whereby we comprehend the truth that is expressed in all religions, all being the product of human experience and inevitable conditions. Evolution has become the modern method of religion, whether that religion be Christian, Jewish, or any other. God's endless work has begun; it is going on; it will go on forever. And since man has entered into it man has been co-operating with God,— will co-operate with God forever.

THE BIBLE IN MODERN LIFE

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The past century has witnessed the birth of a new heaven and a new earth. Scientific discovery and invention have changed the front of the universe. A veritable revelation has taken place in all the departments of life and thought, political, educational, social, industrial, economic, religious. Values have been changed, standards have been readjusted, view-points have shifted. Many things that the fathers considered of supreme importance are regarded now almost a negligible quantity and matters whereon the fathers laid little stress loom large on the horizon of contemporaneous society. To all intents and purposes there is a greater interval between this year and its sister of one hundred years ago than there was between that year 1809 and its sister of one thousand years earlier.

Mankind has travelled an enormous distance during this century in all things that pertain to man as man and to humanity's life as humanity's life. And perhaps in no province of human thought has there been so vital a change as in the modern man's attitude towards the tremendous issues that are subsumed under the name of religion, namely, God and the universe, life and death, the soul and its future, duty and destiny.

These teachings are drawn primarily, as far as we of this western world are concerned, from that great collection of books, the productions of the religious genius of the Jews, that pass current under the title, The Bible, The Book. Whatever be the religious opinions of men to-day, they hark back to or are colored by some interpretation of Biblical teaching. And in the revolution that has taken place in men's religious thinking, the attitude towards the Bible has been involved chiefly. Nor is our modern age peculiar in this. Whenever there has been a great change in religious opinion among the peoples living under the Jewish and Christian dispensations, the Bible has been in some manner or

other intimately and closely connected therewith. When Christianity finally broke away from Judaism, and those unique teachings whereby it was differentiated especially from the mother religion became dominant, viz.: the divinity of Jesus, his miraculous incarnation, his messiahship, his resurrection, an interpretation of Biblical passages was resorted to altogether different from the original meaning. Notably were passages in the prophetical writings invested with a significance as foretelling the life and experiences of Jesus which could impossibly have been in the thought of the original writers. By a forced exegesis, words of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Zachariah, the psalmists were so applied as to supply the needed authoritative basis whereon to build the theology of the new religion. The differences among the many sects in early Christianity are in great part due to differences in the interpretation of some Biblical passage or other. When the great crisis in the history of Christianity came that resulted in the rise of Protestantism it was again the attitude towards the Bible that was largely involved. The church tradition as it had grown up in Catholicism was vigorously opposed by the Protestant leaders, Luther, Calvin and the others who advanced the thesis of the right of individual interpretation of the Bible word. Again upon the basis of varied individual interpretations, the different Protestant sects have been founded. Always and all the time it has been the interpretation of the Biblical teachings that has been the deciding factor in days of great religious unrest and revolution. Hence, when we ask what of the place of the Bible in these latter days of religious change and upheaval which are as significant as any in past times, if not more so, we are amply justified in our question for the attitude towards the Bible is the telling measure of the religious temper of the age.

There are millions to-day who look upon the Bible in the same light as past generations have done. Such believe in the doctrine of plenary inspiration, viz.: that every word was spoken by God and taken down by the writer, who was the agent through whom the divine word was imparted to human kind. For them every word in the Bible is of equal weight with every other. There is no distinction between greater or less. Such are untroubled by the peculiar problem which we have in mind when we think of

the relation of modern thought to the Bible. They either reconcile to their satisfaction the apparent contradictions between Biblical statements and the modern outlook, as did Gladstone, and speak as did he of the impregnable rock of Holy Scripture, or they place the Bible in a category by itself and do not permit themselves to question any of its words whatsoever.

These constitute the great mass of communicants of the orthodox churches. But there is a great multitude of thinking men and women who accept without reservation the whole outlook upon life and the universe that is meant by the term modernity. This outlook given by modern science is altogether different from that of the Biblical writers. A great struggle or conflict is seemingly involved here. And it was the differences between Biblical teaching and the results of scientific research that first made acute the question of the attitude of modern man towards the Bible. When Galileo proclaimed his theory of the earth's motion around the sun, a theory incompatible with the Biblical view, the strong arm of the Church forced his recantation. But those days are happily past when brute force of any kind, be it lay or clerical, can put its mailed fist on the truth seeker and compel his silence. Hence when in the heyday of early scientific discovery in the opening decades of the modern age, the results of geological research as to the age of the world came into sharp conflict with the teachings of the first chapter of Genesis, and astronomy's irrefutable proofs of the earth's place in the solar system discredited the geocentric view of the Biblical writers, and anthropology taught the doctrine of the rise of man as against the New Testament teaching of his fall, and the whole body of modern scientific truth declaimed against the possibility of the interruption of the reign of natural law as necessitated by the miracles of the Old Testament and the New, there was little wonder that the idea grew up that there was an irreconcilable conflict between the Bible and modern thought and life. The famous catchword was coined "the conflict between science and religion," which really meant the conflict between the Biblical view of the origin of all things and the modern scientific view. Hosts ranged themselves on either side and the contest waged fierce and bitter. Churchmen felt that religion itself was at stake, and scientists were

dubbed atheists, because they denied the traditional views founded on Biblical teaching. The smoke of the battle has cleared and we are in a better position to-day than were those in the thick of the fight to judge of the merits of the question. The catchword "the conflict between science and religion" was of brilliant mintage, but like so many popular phrases it expressed what lay merely on the surface and did not penetrate into the realities of the issue. There has never been a more unfortunate mistake than this. I use the word "mistake" advisedly, for the whole notion of such a conflict rests upon a misconception. Both religion and science present different forms of the search after truth. Each has its own domain, and instead of clashing with one another they can be and should be mutually helpful. There has never been a clearer statement on this subject than that made by John Fiske, when he said: "When we look beneath the surface of things, we see that in reality there has never been any conflict between religion and science nor is any reconciliation called for where harmony has always existed. The real historical conflict, which has thus been curiously misnamed, has been the conflict between the more crude opinions of the science of an earlier age and the less crude opinions belonging to the science of a later age. In the course of this conflict the more crude opinions have been usually defended in the name of religion, and the less crude opinions have invariably won the victory; but religion itself, which is not concerned with opinion but with the aspiration which leads us to strive after a purer and holier life, has seldom or never been attacked." Accepting this statement as fair and true, as I believe all religious liberals will, we come to the question of the relation of the Bible, which contains the classical expressions of religious aspiration, to modern scientific thought.

The Bible is the text book of religion, not of science. The Biblical writers stood on the level of their age as far as natural knowledge went. It was not their purpose nor their mission to teach scientific but religious truth. The meaningfulness of the first chapter of Genesis lies not in the teaching of a creation in six days, not quite six thousand years ago, but in the high pronouncement that One God is the creator of all things and that man stands at the summit of the sublunar creation. And so in all

else. We have grown very clear in this matter. We have learned to distinguish between the eternal and the transitory elements in the Bible. The prophets were men of their time, as well as geniuses who pierced to the heart of eternal truths. In the great consecration chapter of Isaiah, we find all the imagery of a crude angelology, in the acceptance of which this soaring genius was at one with his contemporaries; but this was merely the setting for the enunciation of the overpowering pronouncements of the holiness of God and the consecration of man to a great mission, and of the further everlasting truths that spiritual obtuseness leads a people to destruction, but that there will always be the saving remnant of the righteous that survives the catastrophe.

In modern life as shaped by modern thought then the Bible retains the place it has always held as the storehouse of those compelling religious truths that have been and still are expressive of the highest reaches of the soul. No men have looked with clearer vision into the heart of life's mysteries and into the chambers of eternity than did the prophets and seers of Israel. The psalmists uttered the exquisite words of trustful faith that have brought comfort to untold millions, the prophets gave voice to those ideals of righteousness, justice and peace towards which men are still striving. Herein lies the worth and value of the Bible for modern man as it has lain for all the generations past. The value of the Bible does not rise and fall with the changing beliefs of different ages which we subsume under the general term "natural science"; its worth lies in the eternal messages proclaiming the spirit of God in man and the universe. The highest words on this supreme theme are found in the Bible; these are of everlasting significance and are affected neither by the exigencies of time nor place, nor by the changing character of human knowledge. Whatever heights of discovery and invention man's mind may scale, whatever new vistas of knowledge future investigations may disclose, these will affect only the temporary teachings of the Biblical books but not the eternally significant doctrines contained in such brilliant flashes of spiritual insight as the golden text of the Old Testament: "He has told thee, O Man, what is good, and that the Lord requires of thee nothing but to do justly, to love

mercy and to walk humbly with thy God," or the golden text of the New Testament: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

From what has been said it will have become evident that in the modern view of the Bible held by religious liberals of all creeds some parts of the volume are of far greater spiritual potency than others. The researches of Biblical students, known scientifically as Biblical criticism, have proven beyond the peradventure of a doubt, that the Biblical books represent a growth in religious experience. The people of Israel passed through various stages of religious development; these are reflected in the pages of the Bible. This accepted finding of the newer knowledge could not but affect the attitude towards the Bible. The fantastic theories of some erratic critics who represent the extravagances of the extreme left of Biblical students, may amuse us, but they cannot undermine the sound basis of the study. Hence, it may be said that for those who have an open mind it has become abundantly clear that the Biblical books have been written by men of varied powers and represent widely varying degrees of spiritual insight. There is an almost impassible gulf, for example, between the writer of the book of Esther and the writer of the fifty-first psalm; the spirit pervading the Book of Deuteronomy is altogether different from that of the book of Leviticus; the book of Jeremiah is of infinitely greater spiritual significance than is the book of Joshua. This recognition of differing degrees of spirituality, religiosity, or call it what you will, among the Biblical writers, has as a matter of course produced far-reaching results. It makes impossible the Bibliolatry of past days. It has displaced the fetishistic attitude towards the Bible. It has substituted the doctrine of a natural growth along human lines for the supernatural character of the Biblical books. It has, it is true, divested the Bible of that place in popular regard which has amounted to idolatry, but it has given us, in place thereof, that better possession, a Bible of humanity, a Bible which we recognize as our very own, a Bible to which we go, not as to a magician in the attitude of superstitious awe, expecting to receive an instantaneous solution to each and any problem that is harassing us, but a Bible in which we seek the experience of divinely inspired men in situations like

unto those in which we often find ourselves, and draw joy and comfort from their words, veritable wells of salvation.

The Bible, in a word, is a collection of documents, written by men for men, during a period of many centuries. These men were of widely differing powers; they run the gamut from the prosaic chronicler to the prophet of divine inspiration. In the older supernatural view of the Bible, the genealogical tables were of as great potency as the command " thou shalt love thy neighbor as thy self," for one as the other was the word of God and in the word of God there can be no great and no small; but in our newer view we are confronted with no such difficulty; " thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself " is the utterance of an inspired soul and is of eternal significance; the genealogical tables are a simple historical record of a painstaking chronicler of past events, but has no especial spiritual significance. The newer view of the Bible is that of the man who can distinguish between the transitory and the eternal, the inspired and the commonplace, the man who has come into his divine heritage and uses his God-given powers in searching out the significance of this heritage; the older view of the Bible is that of the child that has not tasted of the fruit of the tree of knowledge; the unquestioning acceptance by the child of the wonderful and the miraculous gives way naturally to the sober estimate of manhood with its larger knowledge and outlook; such is the change which the modern knowledge of the production of the Biblical books has wrought, being like unto the change which modern scientific investigation caused in the matter of the acceptance or rejection of the Biblical view of the universe and its government by law or miraculous intervention. The older child-like view may seem and doubtless is, to thousands the more comforting and the by far less troublesome, but the newer man-like stand is the grander, finer; it is the prerogative of our freedom, the freedom of this latter age, which knows that although there are and will always be many things in heaven and on earth that are not dreamt of in our philosophy, yet feels that it is our highest privilege to test all things, even the most hallowed traditions, by the touchstone of our God-given reason and our divinely implanted knowledge. What remains to us after such test is our very own; we have secured, as a result of our latter day investigations into

the canonical books, a Bible as sacred to us as was their Bible to our fathers even though we view it through different eyes; our Bible is to us the the most precious document of the possibilities of the human spirit; it shows us the growth from the crudest conception of God to the highest, from a God delighting in the sweet savor of Noah's sacrifice to the Omnipresent Deity of the one hundred and thirty-ninth psalm; it shows us all the vicissitudes of the soul in all the relations of life; it depicts the ethical development through all the stages of growth from the selfishness of Jacob bargaining at Bethel to the sublime reach of Amos with his great preachment that privilege implies responsibility. So then, though our fathers' positive acceptance of each and every word of the Bible as the inspired word of God, and therefore immutably and unchangeably fixed, is no longer ours, still have we as a compensation, and to my way of thinking, this latter gain far outweighs the former loss, we have as a compensation the substantiation in the books of the Bible of this high doctrine of the growth of man from lower to higher; of his rise from a crude beginning to prophetic insight and of the development of the spiritual faculties, from finding pleasure in animal delights to the height of the vision of universal peace when swords will be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks, and men will learn war no more.

This acceptance of the doctrine of development in reference to the Bible, and its corollary of the greater validity of some portions than of others, involves the all important issue of the authority of the Bible. Past generations, both Jewish and Christian, accepted without question the doctrine of the literal authority of the Bible. It was the final tribunal for religious and moral issues. If a doctrine received Biblical substantiation it was acceptable. True this often brought forth startling results. Advocates and opponents of the same religious dogma, or moral issue sought and found Biblical support for their teaching. We have the assurance of the greatest of the poets that even his Satanic Majesty can quote Scripture if necessary to the furtherance of his work. There was in truth no teaching so extreme and no doctrine so strange that a Biblical text was not made to do service in its cause. This was the result of the dogma accepted universally of the supreme

authority of the Bible. The Bible has spoken — that ended the matter. This meant also that every word of the Bible was of equal weight with every other. It developed also that unfortunate view of the Bible that made it a book of texts; verses were torn out of their context and given an interpretation which could be read into them only by violence. But that made no difference. It satisfied the conscience of the adherent of the doctrine who required Biblical authority. An extreme instance of the lengths to which this was carried was furnished in the slavery struggle in this country; the advocates of slavery declared it a divine institution and rested their claim on Biblical texts; the opponents did the same and explained away the assertions of the Southern sympathizers as best they could. No religious sect too bizarre but that it found warrant to its own satisfaction in the teaching of Scripture. In all these cases the troubled inquirer might well ask, whom shall my soul believe? It all resolved itself into a question of interpretation. But with all this what stood out in strong relief was the acceptance of the authority of the Bible. The universal acquiescence in this doctrine gave rise to all the extravagancies to which reference has been made. There can be no doubt for example that slavery or at any rate, a modified slavery is permitted in the Bible; so also can the Mormon rest his practice of polygamy on Biblical warrant; so were witches burnt because this had Biblical authority; so did Christian sects wage bitter contests not always bloodless because of different readings of Biblical texts. All such phenomena were possible from the old view of the Bible as an absolute representation in its every utterance of the teaching of God. But they are not possible according to our modern view as I have attempted to set it forth.

If the Biblical books represent a development from lower to higher, then can not every verse of the Bible be cited as absolute authority. The authority of the Bible in this sense has passed away from us forever. We do not go to the Bible as an oracle, as did our fathers, to decide each and every perplexity that may beset us. You may remember the older custom of opening the Bible at random and finding in the page that was disclosed the answer to the perplexity and acting upon it. This was but a variant of the ancient heathen practice of consulting

an oracle. It was a superstitious reverence of the authority of the Bible. In so far it degraded rather than elevated the religious sense and made of the Bible and its authority a fetich. If we have ceased to regard the Bible in this light, and we who are here assembled in this convention have ceased to so regard it, we have substituted for it something much more worthy. We feel as strongly as any generation behind us has felt that the Bible contains the loftiest teachings revealing God to man and the highest words on the duties of man in society. We recognize the authority of the Bible not in the artificial guise of a text book forced to do service at each and every turn, but in the lofty sense of the intrinsic value of those of its portions which transcend time and partake of eternity. We know for example, to revert to an instance already mentioned, that the Mosaic law countenances slavery, but this was an accommodation to the outlook and need of an early stage of civilization. We can explain satisfactorily perhaps the reason why this was permitted at that time and place, but this does not do away with the fact that it was permitted. We, therefore, do not hesitate to say that the Bible here is not of authority for us with our newer and better view of the rights of all men to live their own life. This is one of the temporary institutions, one of the transient features of Biblical teachings. Not so, however, with a word like "Ye shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy"; this is of eternal significance and has eternal authority, the authority of God, the authority of truth. And so with the many other of the commands that are contained in the Bible. Here again we distinguish between the passing and the permanent, between the local commands and institutions given for a special land and a special time, and the everlasting words of the great prophets and teachers, who spoke with the authority of the inspiration of God, and who will therefore have authority for all time. For us liberals of to-day, too, the Bible is a unique treasure-trove of inspired religious truth; we study it and con it as did our fathers; but we view it from a different angle of vision; we revere it none the less as God's word, even though we give this term a different connotation. We recognize that the essential features of Biblical teaching, viz: the informing of human society with the spirit of God and the insistence that man lives

not by bread alone but by that which proceedeth from that spirit still represents and always will represent the highest outlook. The Biblical spirit is the protagonist of the ideal; whenever and wherever crass materialism has threatened to sap the best energies of society, and the worship of mammon and luxury has weakened the character of a people, the Bible's eternal message that not by might and not by strength but by the spirit does man prevail, has been thundered forth by the idealists who have drawn their inspiration from the Biblical source. Herein lies the undying authority of the Bible; the authority of the spirit, the authority of righteousness. The "thou shalts" and the "thou shalt nots" of the commandments sound as powerfully and as authoritatively to-day as ever. They are the everlasting foundations on which we build; when men and nations have disregarded them, disaster has ensued. You may recall Lowell's striking lines:

> "In vain we call old notions fudge
> And bend our conscience to our dealing,
> The Ten Commandments will not budge,
> And stealing will continue stealing."

And here it is, I believe, that in our modern life the influence of the Bible and the Biblical spirit is strongest. Knowingly or unknowingly the thousands who everywhere throughout the world to-day are consumed with the passion for righting the wrongs of society and are crying and working for justice between man and man, between class and class, are filled with the spirit of the Bible. What are all the splendid aspirations of the hosts of men and women who are toiling for the uplift and betterment of their kind to-day in philanthropic and educational movements of all sorts but efforts to make real the prophet's bidding to let justice flow as water and righteousness as a perennial stream; what are all the efforts so prominent and pronounced to-day at arbitration between the conflicting claims of capital and labor, of corporations and the people, of trusts and the individual but a carrying out of that command which like a red thread runs through the Bible, and is expressed there in a hundred ways, all variations of the striking utterance of the Deuteronomist "justice, justice shalt thou pursue"; when has the consciousness of the truth of the

Psalmist's declaration that " righteousness exalteth a people but sinfulness is a nation's shame " but stronger than in our modern life where in the pulpit and out of it, in books and magazines, on the rostrum and in legislative halls, it is being declared and expounded. In our modern life the feudal doctrine " might makes right " has given way to the Biblical teaching " right makes might." And although the feudal spirit is still abroad in many places, although the robber barons still ply their occupations in many a line, although the gospel of force still has its myriads of followers, although the nations of Europe are still armed camps and even in our land militarism had its advocates, yet has the true Biblical teaching of the supremacy of righteousness as the human embodiment of God's spirit never been more fervently accepted by a greater number of practical idealists than at present. These are striving to establish the Kingdom of God on earth and I for one believe that despite all the untoward signs which are still with us, men today are doing more towards the establishment of that Kingdom than ever before, for a larger number than ever before are permeated with the Biblical spirit of righteousness, a larger number than ever before are recognizing their obligations and are feeling the point of the great questions of the Biblical prophet, "Have we not all one Father? Has not one God created us?"

THE CHURCH IN MODERN LIFE

REV. FRANK OLIVER HALL, D. D.

The church is undoubtedly passing through a difficult and hazardous period of her history. Many think that she is passing out of history altogether. There are those who tell us that at best the church is a transitory institution, that it has no permanent place in society, and is doomed ultimately to disappear from our social life. We often hear it stated that religion is something which belongs to the childhood age of the human race; that as people grow more intelligent they think and talk and read less about religion; that this will continue until ultimately religion will have taken its place with the childish belief in fairies and hobgoblins as a thing outgrown. Those who believe in religion and the church fear that this may be true; those who do not be-

lieve in religion and the church hope that it may be true; the conviction seems to be widespread among all classes and conditions of men that, at any rate, organized religion is losing its grip on the life of the community.

Now, I do not believe that there is any more danger that the church, in some form or other, will disappear, or that religion will be outgrown than that the home will be outgrown and disappear. The home will endure because it lays its foundations in the deep necessities of the human life. The home has grown out of the human heart, and as long as the heart beats; as long as a man looks into the eyes of a woman to find inspiration for his own highest purposes and noblest resolutions; as long as the laugh of a little child is sweetest of all music to a mother's ears, so long the home will endure. It may change its aspects to meet the varying conditions of life, but the home, in some form, in spite of trial marriages and easy divorce, will measure its duration only by the life of humanity.

So with religion and the institutions of religion. Religion also has blossomed out of the deep necessities of the human soul. It has come to us not out of the heavens, not out of the sea, not out of the earth, but out of the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows, the most generous impulses and the holiest aspirations of humanity's sacred life. As long as man, looking up at night, gazing into the depths of the over-arching sky, and to the glittering worlds rolling majestically there, propounds the question "Whence?" as long as men stand beside the open grave to say a last farewell to some tried comrade called to go apart alone, and ask the question, "Whither?" as long as any human soul stands perplexed within the dark and devious roads of life, where pathways cross and all of happiness depends upon his choice, and asks the question, "Which?" as long as hideous remorse lays her lash upon the back of him who sets his heel upon the moral law until he cries aloud for mercy and, seeking to escape, looks here and there and asks the question, "How?" so long will religion hold a place in the lives of men.

"If we traverse the world over," said Plutarch, "it is possible to find cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without wealth, without coin, without schools and theatres; but a

city without a temple or that practiseth not worship, prayers and the like, no one ever saw." No one has seen such a city since Plutarch's time and we have explored much of the world since he wrote that sentence. No one will ever discover such a city until men cease to be men.

But while religion itself is a permanent factor of human nature the institutions of religion change to meet the varied conditions of human life. The church is not the same in any two ages. The church of to-day is not the church of yesterday, and the church of to-morrow will not be the church of to-day. The church of yesterday was theological, its business was other-worldly, its function was to save people from dire calamity in some other sphere of existence. The church of to-day is transitional. There is no general agreement as to what its function is. We are groping about trying to find a function. The church of to-morrow will probably differ as much from the church of yesterday as the modern university settlement does from the monastery of the middle ages, once useful, now outgrown.

It does not seem at all strange to me that such large numbers of the people should have fallen away from the church. The old motives for attending church no longer move and men do not as yet feel the force of other motives.

I heard Dr. Lorimer tell this story on himself. When he was a young minister in a small community he was one Sunday preaching a sermon on everlasting punishment and describing as vividly as possible the pains and penalties that await the unredeemed in the next world. In the midst of the discourse there was an alarm of fire and several of his congregation who belonged to the local fire department quietly left the church. The preacher went on with his discourse. Ten minutes later, just as he had reached the climax of a vivid description of the awful catastrophe that awaits the unredeemed sinner, the truant members began to return and one of the number wishing to allay the fears of the congregation with reference to their homes, put his hand to his mouth and hoarsely whispered, "False alarm! False alarm!"

Now frankly that is the way the large majority of the people have come to feel about the message of the church with which

they are most familiar. When Moody represented the world as a wreck and the church as a life-boat, and the business of the clergymen and the revivalist "to get as many passengers off as possible before the old hulk went down," the church had a very plain and practical function to perform. But if the world is not a wreck, but a staunch and seaworthy craft sailing on its predestined way, what is the necessity of launching the life-boat? One of the stock illustrations of the old-time preacher was to describe a burning dwelling with some one imprisoned by the flames on the housetop in imminent danger of destruction, and the hook and ladder company coming with a rush down the street, the ladder being thrust up into the smoke and flame, the brave fireman dashing up the rounds and rescuing the victim. But if the building is not on fire, if the person on the roof is in no danger of being burned, if all this is a false alarm, what is the function of the hook and ladder company and what has become of the occupation of the fireman?

Octavius B. Frothingham graphically illustrated what many believe to be the present condition of the church by a curious landmark in the vicinity of Boston. "A gentleman had running through his grounds the Middlesex Canal. It divided his garden from a very beautiful grove of trees, which was a favorable retreat in the summer time. Being a man of wealth, he spanned the canal with a stone bridge elegant to behold. After a time the railroad superseded the canal. The waters were drawn off. The bed was filled in, planted over, covered with corn-fields; but the bridge still stands where it did. It serves no purpose as a bridge; it is easier to walk over the even ground than it is to climb its steep arch; it occupies good soil for planting; it withdraws from use a quantity of granite; it is by no means ornamental; and its incongruity raises a smile, not always inaudible, in the passers-by. So, to the apprehension of many, stands the church, a needless relic of a past dispensation, doing nothing that literature, the book, the magazine, the newspaper, do not accomplish a great deal better; and, by its standing where it does, causing a tacit reproach, and being an actual hindrance to these."

Whether this is a fair illustration or not it remains a fact that the majority of people in our time who attend church do so simply

as a matter of habit. Their parents believed in the efficacy of religion and took their children to church with them in order that they might be "saved" from the terrible penalties that would befall those who did not profess religion. These people have largely outgrown their parents' ideas, but the habit persists. There are still some who attend a church from the old motives. The idea may be vague in their minds, but they still feel that somehow there is magic efficacy in church-going. If there is any good to be distributed after death they want their share and they know of no other distributing center except the church, so they go there. There is another set of people who have entered upon a larger and saner idea of what a church ought to be. They attend church because they believe in the institution, are helped by the services and want to have a part in the work. But all these together are a minority of the whole population. The larger majority of the people are unchurched and this holds good not only in the city but the country and the world over.

"The fact cannot be questioned," says a recent writer, whose statements I abridge, "that organized Christianity has lost its hold on the masses of the people." In England it is admitted that about seventy-five per cent of the population never enter a church door. In Germany the proportion is still greater. An ecclesiastical authority assures us that in France there are hundreds of thousands who have never read a page of the Gospels. Mr. Campbell, of the City Temple in London, has recently declared that the vast mass of European people are alienated from Christianity as represented by the churches. As for our own country the statistics just published make a poor showing. The only denomination that appears to have made any appreciable gains is the Christian Science. Only a small portion of our city populations ever attend church services. That these are not the pessimistic views of anticlerical minds is shown by the attitude of the church itself. From all sides comes the cry that the number of candidates for the ministry is falling off. Scotland is a land given over to theological pursuits. Yet even her divinity halls are almost empty and she cannot find men to fill her pulpits. The Presbyterian Church of America reports that there are one-third fewer men studying for the ministry of this church than there

were ten years ago. All the seminaries of the Episcopal Church mourn the diminution of the supply of students. Time was when the most brilliant and the most highly gifted young men felt it an honor to consecrate their powers to the work of the ministry. Law, medicine and business claim to-day the best of our youth. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that the church as a vocation has lost its attraction for our young men.

Now, what is the conclusion? Is religion dying out? Is it taking its place with the belief in fairies and hobgoblins, and is it to be left behind? I do not think so. There was never so much honest, earnest and sincere religion in the lives of men as at the present moment. Religion is simply finding a different and a more diverse expression than it formerly did. The church is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end. The church is not synonymous with religion. The church did not make religion. Religion made the church. Going to church is not religion. Singing hymns, chanting psalms, uttering prayers are not religion. They are only an expression of religion.

There was a time when people did not go to church, because there was no church to go to. The church as it exists to-day is a comparatively modern institution. Religion existed before the church, it would continue to exist if every church were to be turned into an automobile garage. I am perfectly willing to confess that I find many people outside the churches, people who never go to church, quite as religious, quite as honest and pure and truthful, quite as good citizens and neighbors and cherishing quite as much faith as many of the people inside.

Let us not make the mistake of confounding religious exercises with religion itself. We are very apt to do that just as we constantly confound education with certain means to education. We put as a fundamental test of the crudest education the ability to read and write. But there was a time when no one knew how to write or read. Were all men in those days uneducated? And even later some of the world's greatest were illiterate. Abraham did not know how to read. Some have thought that Jesus did not. And as there was a day before writing was known, so there may come a day when it will be unnecessary. The perfected phonograph may supersede entirely the written or printed

page and our great-grandchildren be spared the drudging necessity of learning through the eye what nature obviously intended should be obtained through the ear. Literature may be preserved for future generations not on sheets of paper manufactured from wood pulp and rags, but on more durable cylinders of gutta-percha. Will education cease when reading and writing cease? Will religion necessarily cease because certain methods by which we now express the religious sentiments are superseded by others more in accord with the custom of the times?

It may be that the day will come when it will be unnecessary that people should "assemble themselves together." It may be that the people of the future will read their sermons or the equivalent instead of going to hear the preacher, as they have come to read their political speeches instead of going to hear the stump speaker. It may be, as Bellamy dreamed, that "frozen" religious music will be carried into each home, by the phonograph or over the telephone, instead of people assembling in some house set apart and equipped with an organ. It may be that the theater is to take the place of the pulpit as an ethical instructor. In truth the best sermons that I have heard this winter have been acted and not preached. It may be that the preacher will wake up some morning to find his occupation gone. When that day comes I shall look for a job on the press or try to be a good doorkeeper in a worthy theater, if that proves to be the house of the Lord. I do not know what is going to happen. The only thing of which I feel sure is that something is going to happen. The religious nature of man will find expression through some instrumentality.

The world is not going backward. This is a better world than it used to be when the church was strongest. It is going to continue to improve. To that end I propose to make my contribution through the church until I discover that I can make it better in some other way. I am going to try to make the church over which I preside as interesting as the theater, as influential as the press and as helpful as the Associated Charities. I am going to try to hammer the idea into the minds of men that the church of to-day is the freest platform that the world affords, that it is the custodian of the highest and most essential truths and is

not afraid to utter them, that the church service can be inspiring and instructive and in every way helpful and necessary. If in the end the people vote otherwise by deserting the church and going elsewhere, then I will go with them and try to find some other way of doing the work that I am trying to do now.

As I am not surprised that so many people have fallen away from the church, so I am not surprised that the Christian ministry is less attractive to young men than it used to be. What is the ministry for? [1] Time was when the church was the throne from which a man of power reigned over the entire life of the community. The church was then a political power and the preacher preached politics as a matter of course and no one found fault with him because he did. They would have found fault with him if he did not. He was the guide and people expected the leader to lead. Now politics and religion have been divorced. The consensus of opinion is that the preacher must not use his pulpit as a political rostrum to advocate his pet theory of social reform.

Time was when the church was the center of social life of the community. To-day, except in provincial localities, this is not the case. The minister, of course, if he discovers that the social life of the community in which he is placed is barren and unprofitable, that the public good demands a different and higher order of amusement, will as a good citizen do what he can to meet the demand. But running a restaurant or a show or a fair is not the business of the ministry.

Time was when the church and the school were closely identified. They were almost one and the same thing. To-day they are separate. There may be a call for the minister and his church to work along this line even to-day. The first evening school in this country was established in the basement of the old Hollis Street Church in Boston. They ran the school for several years, until they demonstrated to the city that such a school was needed, and when the city took charge of the matter, and established free evening schools, the church closed its vestry and attended to something else. It is not the minister's business to run a school in opposition to the public school system.

* See an admirable article by Rev. F. W. Perkins, D.D., on "The Liberal Church of To-day: Its Ministry."

Time was when the church was the center and source of all the charity work of the community. More and more we are delegating this work to the charity organization societies with their corps of efficient workers. The churches are still and may always be called upon to supply the means whereby these other institutions shall do their work. Even the administration of charities is not the business of the minister except where there are no charity organizations or where they are inefficient.

Time was when the minister was also a healer, a physician, a "medicine man." To-day the world is supplied with a splendid corps of specially trained men and women who have taken this field for their life-work. It may be necessary if these men, by too much delving in things material, lose sight of the truth that man is a soul and lives in a body, and that the soul is king and the body a servant, that the church shall again demonstrate the power of thought and emotion, faith and hope and love over physical functions. But the healing of disease is not primarily the business of the church or its ministers.

Well, what is left? One line of work after another has been specialized and taken away from the church and its minister. Is there anything left for the church to do that is really worth doing? Yes. With all the changes that have taken place it remains true to-day, and is likely to remain true, that the church is the one institution in our modern world that stands primarily and all the time for ethical and spiritual ideals. It is the peculiar function of the church to call men to high and holy living, to hold constantly before the minds of men a noble conception of what a man ought to be, to preach the ideal, sing the ideal, pray the ideal, and induce men and women to organize around some ideal and coöperate earnestly to the end that the ideal may become a reality. Perhaps the time may come when this function will also be fulfilled by some other institution. That time has not yet arrived. Without the church or its environment in the world of to-day life would certainly degenerate. Without the influence of the church politics becomes corrupted by graft; business is poisoned by materialism and soulless greed; education becomes merely a means for selfish enjoyment; even charity becomes mechanical and heartless; the home loses its sanctity and marriage is only

another name for legalized lust. "Ye are salt," said Jesus to the first ordained Christian ministers. Without the salt of the ministry, a constant appeal by word and life to what is high and holy, the constant stimulating of the minds and hearts of men to still nobler endeavor in all departments of life, our social order would become tainted and stricken with disease.

So religion will endure. The gates of hell will not prevail against it because it is a fundamental part of the deepest instincts of human nature. And if religion endures it will find expression in some kind of an institution. And this institution must have officers and leaders. Perhaps it will be necessary to change the name of this institution, as it was once changed from "synagogue," "place where people are led together," to "church," "place where people are called together." Who cares for the name? Spell it with six letters as we do, or with nine letters as the Hebrews do; call it a "Fellowship" if you want to; name it "Brotherhood" if you will; designate it "League of Service" if you prefer that title; or write over the door the words, "A Union of all who Love in the Service of all who Suffer." We may find it expedient to take the steeples off our churches and make them resemble Lloyd Jones' "Center" in Chicago, substitute some other instrument for the organ, as the organ superseded the viol and the cymbals, tear up the creed, burn up the rituals. That would be no great loss. The minister may come to button his collar in front instead of behind and wear brown or blue instead of black; he may be called "helper," "worker," "social settler" instead of priest, clergyman or minister. Many things may happen in the tremendous reorganization of society in the midst of which we are. But religion will stand, under some name the church will stand, and with some title and garb the ministry will stand. The men of the future, like the men of the past, will continue to see visions and dream dreams. They will join hands for the purpose of expressing their ideals and making their dreams a reality. They will have officers and leaders and teachers. And this institution of the future, with its service and its ministry, the child of the church, the grandchild of the synagogue, will be freer and more helpful and more powerful than anything the past has produced.

THE PLACE OF JESUS IN THE RELIGION OF THE MODERN MAN

PROF. GEORGE B. FOSTER, PH.D., OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1. Scientific theology, together with the spirit and thought of our new age in general, has succeeded in undermining the ecclesiastical dogma of the trinity and of the deity of Christ. Still the watchword arose, "Christianity is Christ." This watchword can be understood only in the light of its history. In Reformation days the doctrines of the Protestants deviated, of course, in many points, from those of the Catholics. Both held that their doctrines were "Christian." Hence controversy arose as to which of the two confessions had the better claim to this designation. Appeal was of necessity made to history, whereupon it was evident that the Catholics had an undeniable advantage. Their interpretation of history did not need to leap over many centuries: they could return step by step, year by year, to the primitive period of Christianity, and indicate that every new formation and construction signified only a special unfolding and development of what had gone before.

But Protestants could not do this. If they appealed to history, they had to make a selection of the history to which they should appeal. They touched a sore spot; but they had to do it. They had to drive a stake fixing the point from which genuine and true Christianity was no longer to be found in the stream of historical life. Then arose that great, grievous embarrassment of Protestant theology: the question as to where the stake was to be driven! Where was the line to be drawn, according to which genuine Christianity was to be distinguished from false? According to the Augsburg Confession, the ecclesiastical doctrines of the first three centuries down to the Nicene Council were the unassailable foundation of genuine Christian faith. A little later, under the influence of George Calixtus, and in order to soften the harshness of the opposition to Catholicism, the date was changed to the fifth century. But the plan did not work very well. Soon the lines began to be drawn closer and closer. Protestants made up

their minds that genuine Christianity had not lasted five centuries, nor yet three; but by straining a point they held on to the first century — the apostolic age, so-called primitive Christianity. Then, at last, matters grew more serious still. It was seen that this stretch of time was still too much. Protestantism split in two. One party declared that the entire New Testament mediated original Christianity to them, and therefore furnished the criterion of genuine and true Christianity. They called this "biblical" Christianity. And this they preached; on this they would build their church, and the gates of hell should not prevail against her. The other party discovered that the germs of all the things which a good Protestant was under obligation to consider as Roman Catholic, therefore as false Christianity, were contained in a series of biblical writings, especially in the Pauline epistles. Back they go again! Genuine Christianity is to be found in all its purity, not in the epistles, but only in the gospels. Then John was suspected of Catholic leanings. The Fourth Gospel was excluded from the documents of "pure" Christianity, and retreat was beaten to the first three, the so-called Synoptics. But even these were too much, because these three gospels contained much which was afterward developed into the Catholic Church. What was to be done? Back of the gospels, to the gospel underlying them, was the cry. The really "true," the "original" Christianity, is to be sought behind these gospels, it was said. To be sure, *this* Christianity no theologian's eye has ever seen and no theologian's ear has ever heard; nevertheless it was said to contain the pure, unfalsified gospel, precisely the gospel which we to-day still need, on which we to-day ought, as a duty of conscience, still to build our religious and moral life. For *this* gospel comes from Jesus — from Jesus, of whom the scholars only really know that he was not what he was said to have been by the writers of the Bible, that he did not say and do what the gospels narrate that he said and did; from Jesus, of whom we honestly know very little, almost nothing with indubitable certainty; from Jesus, who, as a child of his people and of his time, thought and believed and said much which we to-day cannot truthfully think and believe and say; from Jesus, who, however, has a hidden point somewhere in his heart (it is the

old problem of the seat of the soul over again) where true Christianity has its seat. But this point is problematically known only to the scholar, and the *people* are shut up to a new Catholicism in which the scholar is the pope,— a Catholicism less *religious* to the heart, and more *uncertain* to the intellect, than the papacy itself.

But is all this tragedy or comedy? I shall treat it as a process of human history which it is my business to understand and interpret. I shall assume that an historical development which has been going on for four hundred years is some expression of the divine purpose and has some good in it. Still, we are in the midst of a crisis greater than any which the church has experienced before. Men's feet are slipping, and we may ask, What shall we do?

In the first place, since we know so little about Jesus, let us assume that we know nothing with indubitable certainty. For the sake of the argument, let us assume that Jesus never lived at all. I think that he did live. I agree with a distinguished colleague of mine (who has a far better right to a scientific judgment upon the point than I have) that the denial that Jesus ever lived amounts almost to historical insanity. Still, since we may not violently reject the outcome of the historical development as sketched above, we may as well consider what our fate would be should science yet go on to doubt the historical existence of Jesus. I do not mean to deny that during the last decade doubt as to the reliability of our sources has reached an extreme at which the once sporadic opinion that Jesus was an imaginary person may boast an ever-increasing number of advocates.* There has been a succession of writers in Germany, Holland, England, and America, who have thus denied all historicity to Jesus. Recently even Titius has written as follows:

"I blame no one if he is not able to share this judgment concerning the religious uniqueness of Jesus, but sees therein merely a survival of the old miracle faith. I am not at all surprised that this *enthusiastic* [italics mine] judgment is not every man's affair. On the contrary, often as I think about this matter, as I often indeed do, I am filled with astonishment that there are still

* See *Protestantische Monatshefte*, 10. Jahrgang, Heft 7, pp. 279 ff.

thoughtful and critically endowed men who have the *courage* [italics mine] to hold fast to this enthusiasm . . . and that I find myself under the necessity of showing the same faith." †

Here is a point for those who are betrayed into the attempt to found religion on historical criticism. When appeal is made to the judgment of historical science and not to the judgment of religious enthusiasm, Jesus loses his place in the religion of the Christian. He is sacrificed to skepticism. In this conclusion Titius is without doubt right. Only recently such men as Johannes Müller and Rade have made the same admission. Men who have thought long and deeply upon this subject now see that it is at once unreligious and disastrous to found our faith upon the conclusions of historical science concerning Jesus. Therefore, I feel the need all the more to see how the case shall stand with reference to my world of values from the point of view that to science the non-existence of Jesus is a possibility.

Will an appeal to Christian experience convict me of error when I say that the historical-science proof of the historicity of Jesus supplies little certainty, nourishment, or enthusiasm to the religious life of Christians? Why is this? It is not simply that the argument lacks cogency, though this is true for a certain type of mind, as well as for those whose habits of thought lead them to exact a kind of evidence which historical science is not competent to adduce. The all-important reason is, first, that the side of the human consciousness which aggregates historical data and enacts the historical judgment is not the basic bearer of the *religious* content at all; and, secondly, that the *object* to which the religious yearning of man is directed, and by it is satisfied as its everlasting portion, is not the historic fact that a man by the name of Jesus once lived upon the earth, but a *system of values*. While these values have emerged in the historical order, yet that they emerged at this date or at that, in this person or in that, is a consideration — interesting enough to a genetic science, indeed — with which religion as such has nothing whatever to do. No fact of history which is known to us only through tradition is the basis of saving faith. The reason of this is, first, that we cannot be sure that such fact, no matter what it is, may not be

† See *Der Bremer Radicalismus*, Tübingen, 1908.

corroded by critical doubt some time in the great future; and, especially, that the correlate of faith is *value* and not *fact*. To say this is but to repeat my fundamental contention that, whatever it may or may not be, the historical is not the ultimate basis of religion. Strictly speaking, it is not the historical as such, it is the *eternal* in the historical, and nothing but the eternal, that the religious nature of man craves. Furthermore, the pathway into the eternal is moral obedience and not historical criticism, is doing the will of God, and is not testing the credibility of tradition from out a hoary past. To determine whether a man by the name of Jesus lived for a few years and taught for a few months in Palestine many centuries ago, one must travel the scientific path. It is a long and difficult journey, for which few have the time and fewer still the ability. The indispensable equipment for this journey is not a pure heart, but a knowledge of Latin and of Greek, of textual and historical criticism, of the nature and laws of evidence, and the like. "We must call in the most strenuous science we can command," says Neumann. Yes, yes; and once again, in our new time, we shall witness the fallacy and anachronism of salvation by knowledge, by learning, common to orthodoxy, to the historical-science school of theology and to Buddhism. Or must we substitute a new blind faith in science by the Protestant layman for the old blind faith in the church on the part of the Catholic layman? "What do you believe?" asked Luther of the charcoal man. "I believe what the Church believes," answered the man. "And what does the Church believe?" continued Luther. "I don't know, sir," was the reply. Is the layman of to-day to be like the charcoal man, only that "historical science" is substituted for "the Church"? Or must one be a "successful" historian in order to be a first-hand Christian? This is the "gospel of success" with a vengeance — none the less so because the success in question is scientific. Why not say that one must achieve artistic success, and hew a statue or paint a picture, or inventive success, and contrive a machine, or commercial success, and get rich in dollars, instead of in "facts"? *

* To get rich in dollars might be easier. There is a deadly infraction of the ethics of the intellect in the easy and slovenly way in which some apologists speak of many items of tradition as fact. A fact to you is that which you cannot deny.

You might as well say that as to say that one must compass a certain scientific task in order to be a child of the God of the Gospels. No, the difficulty which blocks our way in accepting the gospel is not our scientific inability: it is our *moral* inability, it is our inner moral antipathy to the message. And this is so because the world of religion is not one of scientific facts and knowledge, but of activities, values and appreciations. The Christianizing of a man consists in gathering his life up and organizing it into the Christian system of activities and values and ends, and not in delving into the debatable depths of the historicity of Jesus.

While as historians, therefore, we raise the question, Did Jesus ever live? as *apologists* we face a very different question. The *apologetic* question runs as follows: What difference does it now make whether Jesus ever lived or not? Historical science is not apologetics, much as at times it arrogates to itself apologetic prerogatives, thereby corrupting its own self and confusing and jeopardizing the serious issues which are at stake. Historical science is concerned with fact, apologetics with truth, the former with description and explanation, the latter with valuation and propagandism. The difference between the two is the difference between psychology, on the one hand, and ethics, or æsthetics, or logic, on the other. Psychology is not concerned with values as such, be they the true or the beautiful or the good, while those other sciences are concerned with nothing but values. So is it with historical science and apologetics.

Still, in the point at issue historical science has rendered a service to apologetics. Since it has converted Jesus into *problem,* to be and to remain problem, apologetics must take strategic advantage of the situation, and distinguish more sharply than ever before between the essentials and the accidents of our religion. If, in the nature of the case, historical science cannot cut the nerve of religious certitude, then the historic belief that Jesus existed is not a necessary article of our religion. Supposing that Jesus lived, and was what the gospels portray, did he think that it was necessary? Did Paul think that it was?* Would the

* That he did not consistently think so may be inferred from his use of Abraham's faith in Galatians.

reader let go his hold upon the grace of God, the worth of life, the love for neighbor and enemy, if science were to rob him of the Jesus of history? If one knows that the pure in heart shall see God, only because Jesus said so, does one really know it at all? May not one affirm that Jesus lived, and yet oneself not be well-pleasing to God, and may not one deny that Jesus lived, and yet be well-pleasing to God? Then the essential thing is neither the affirmation nor the denial, but something else. Are those scholars, Swiss, German, Dutch, English, who, try hard as they may, cannot make out a clear case for the historicity of Jesus, excluded from participation in the values of the gospel? No; God is good, and salvation is by grace. To hold that belief in the existence of Jesus is an inalienable constituent of our religion is to adopt a position which, from the standpoints of Jesus and of Paul themselves, is in principle subversive of religious faith. Indeed, whether one sees or not that his innermost religious possession would suffer no vital injury were historic science to force one to the position that Jesus never lived may very well be a touchstone of the maturity of one's religious conviction. Of course I grant that essential values were brought into the world by Jesus, yet, once here, those values are self-evidential and self-propagating, and may be possessed by him who does not possess the certainty of the existence of Jesus, even as one may have his thirst quenched by water without knowing from what fountain the cup is borne.

The piety which has long been a man's possession may not be lost again because he no longer consciously derives it from Jesus, much as he might feel, with Schmiedel, that it was a most painful privation not to be able to look back and to look up to him as a real man. But water will quench thirst even if it be gathered from the common drops which rain down from dull skies, as well as if it bubbled from some mysterious fountain in the wonderland of the world. I myself believe that "historical progress cannot be explained by forces originating in a collective way, but by eminent leaders, or heroes"; * but others seek to derive all from the *milieu,* the environing circumstances; and I have to ad-

* See *Finality of the Christian Religion,* Vol. I, p. 270.

mit that even the man who calls into being a new spirit of the age — *Zeitgeist* — is himself, in a sense, the child of his age. What I should like to urge is that the school of the *milieu,* which opposes me, is not of necessity irreligious, since my own position requires me joyfully to believe that the *milieu,* made up as it is of history and of nature, in the largest sense of these words, is not empty of that God who is no respecter of persons. I may not deny creative revelation to *milieu* any more than I may deny the properties of water to raindrops in my preference for fountains, for in all things there is the secret echo of the reality of God; nor do I see that the *milieu* school is compelled to deny that that which constitutes the secret of personality is the greatest, the ultimately decisive thing. And as to the case in hand the main thing is the possession of this secret rather than historic certainty as to the biographical facts concerning Jesus.

But it is not simply the exigencies of science and the nature of the case, it is the possibilities of the great future of the race itself, that point us to this stronghold of an impregnable apologetics. A billion years hence the spiritual condition of the race may be conceivably as far above ours as ours is above the status of the savages that roamed the primeval forests. The civilizations of Greece and Rome and Palestine may have become quite as prehistoric as the long human story which lies behind Egypt and Babylon. The Sea of Galilee may have become table-land and Mount Zion ocean bed. The familiar stars, even, which burn in the beauty of the blue above us, may have crumbled back into cosmic dust, and others may be shining in their place. As to the heroes and geniuses who have made the epochs of our past, they may have been swallowed up in oblivion or be guessed about from names and dates on weather-worn monuments and manuscripts. And Jesus of Nazareth? Is it inconceivable that a billion years or so hence the human beings then alive will know as little about him and our specific form of religion as we know about the religion of the dwellers in Atlantis, or any other submerged land? Is it inconceivable that the very name of Christianity shall have passed away? And yet may not the world be more Christian then than now, have more faith, hope, and love, be more sure of

the fatherly God, of a brotherly man, of an eternal life, of a purposeful world? May not the stream of spiritual influence continue to deepen and widen, even though the springs of Judah be forgotten? And as, according to John, it was once necessary that Jesus should go away individually that the Spirit might come, is it inconceivable that it might be necessary for him to pass away historically, to that same end? I do not say that it will be so: the future is hidden from our eyes. I only say that it may be so. I only wish to be able to face the possibility unafraid — and possibility it surely is, since even now we may not see in Jesus an absolutely perfect model without jeopardizing the freedom and the progress of humanity. One should know, as Schmiedel has said, that: Jesus was a man, and that if the unknown future shall bring us fuller life, this too will be the gift of the grace of God. In short, whatever be the fate of the individual Jesus from the science of the present, or from the life of the future, no man is justified on that account in making shipwreck of his faith in the preciousness and permanence of our values: faith in a Father in heaven and in the filial and fraternal disposition here upon the earth.

In sum: We experience what Paul experienced. At the moment when we draw nearer to the historical Jesus than ever before and stretch out our hands to him to draw him into our own time, we must give up the effort and be resigned to the paradoxical word: Even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him so no more. Still further we must understand that the *historical* knowledge of the essence and life of Jesus will not be a help but perhaps be a hindrance to religion. Not the Jesus historically known, but only the Jesus spiritually risen in men, can be a potent help to our time. Not the historical Jesus but the spirit which issues from him and struggles for new results and new dominion in human spirits is that which overcometh the world. It is not given to history to release the permanent and eternal in Jesus from the historical forms in which it has eternalized itself and to domesticate it as something dynamic and vital in our world. The eternal and the permanent in Jesus is totally independent of historical knowledge, and can be apprehended only upon the basis of the spirit at present opera-

tive in the world: so much spirit of Jesus, so much true knowledge of Jesus.*

2. Let us now look wider for a moment. Broadly speaking, religions are of two kinds: those with their faces turned toward the past, and those that face toward the future.† One says, It was; the other, It shall be. The religious primitive myth of Brahmanism lives on *plusquam perfectum,* the religious primitive myth of Parsism lives on *plusquam futurum.* For the religious pessimism of the Buddhists, the ideal of perfection is to be found at the beginning of the world-process. This original perfection was lost, whether through fall, or guilt and atonement, with Anaximander, or through impulse and impetus, through resistance, with Fichte, or contradiction, with Hegel, is a question of myth and allegory rather than of principle. All religious pessimists agree that the pilgrimage of the universe is downward. The ideal of perfection is in the irrevocable past, along with the innocence of paradise. The world is a steady descent from pure fire or fine ether to gross earth, from reality to appearance, from eternal ideas to pale copies, from Deity's pure thought to the transitory process of nature. The mythological parallel to this metaphysical pessimism is the widespread legend of the Golden Age, upon which the silver and the brass ensue. The church doctrine of the fall corresponds to this view. Civilization as descent, fall, symptom of the dissolution of nature — this is nothing but a special instance of the ecclesiastical doctrine of the fall.

As an offset to this pessimistic evaluation of the world and of life, of which Buddhism and neo-Platonism are illustrations, we have the Iranian-Persian religion of light, which projects the ideal of perfection, not backward into a distant past, but forward into the remotest future. The process of the world is reversed, and goes from the imperfect toward the perfect. The religious fantasy is turned forward and not backward. It does not delight in picturing what has been, what is irrevocably lost, but in the promise of what is to come in the apocalyptic glorification of the perfect "at the end of the day." The prophetic, the Bacchic,

* So, to, Schweitzer in *Vom Reimarus zu Wrede* (Tübingen, 1906).

† Here I have availed myself of much help from Dr. Ludwig Stein, *Philosophische Strömungen der Gegenwart,* 1908.

the Orphic, the Sibylline books and chiliastic dreamers proclaim in hundredfold echo the millennial kingdom, the coming of joy. And such facing the future is characteristic of modern thought and work everywhere.

So, then, world-religion divides itself into a pessimistic and an optimistic method. Both strive for the purification, the redemption, the moral elevation of man. Nirvana religion and prophet religion seek the same goal: the moral perfection of the human race. Only the regressive forms of religion, the romanticists among the religious philosophers, the advocates of the doctrines of the fall and of a lost paradise, follow the pedagogic method of making man more docile, more manageable, more resigned to the destiny of the world, as well as to his own personal fate, by establishing the course of the world as an inclined plane from eternity to eternity. The will of the individual is "broken" that the will of the universe may be supreme and mandatory and compulsive. This is true of the doctrine of Buddha, the foreknowledge of the Greeks, the fate of the Romans, the predestination to sin on the part of the mediæval church, the kismet of the Mohammedans, the rigid doctrine of providence of Calvin, of Spinozism and materialism, and so on.

Such is the insight of the philosophic historian of religion, and I have allowed Stein, in the book above mentioned, to interpret it for me.

Now which has the better stood the pragmatic test at the judgment-seat of history: the pessimistic or the optimistic religious hypothesis; Mohammedan fatalism or the Kanteian doctrine of freedom? Which faith "works better," faith in a "lost paradise," or faith in the "kingdom of God on earth?" Buddhism or Messianism? the yearning elegiac "backwardness" of the romanticist, with its paralyzing "It was," or the brave, upright hosanna of the religion of progress, with its Messianic psalmodic "It shall be" and its counsel, "Serve the Lord in joy?"

You see why I have laid the foundation broad and deep. It is to urge that we line up on the side of a religion of the future rather than of the past, that we turn our faces to the rising rather than to the setting sun.

To be sure, a bad as well as a good use may be made of this.

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You know that every church has maintained that the future was with it, and therefore has claimed the right to rule the future. To the Protestant it has been self-evident that the world was sure to become Protestant, and to the Catholic it has been equally self-evident that the whole world would bow the knee to its sole saving faith. The modern man takes no interest in this controversy. It smacks of ecclesiastical selfishness and vainglory. However, ours is not this old controversy, but the question as to the future of religion and the religion of the future. As to the former, in my opinion, all the age-long contempt for religion is at bottom contempt not for religion at all, but for the wrappings of religion which can be made to appear in such a ridiculous light. Religion must be evaluated as a creative activity of the human spirit — which reveals the eternity in a human heart and which shall be a pillar of fire for the pilgrimage of our race as long as man is man and nothing human is foreign to him. But of course this is personal; faith, not sight, conviction, not experience. There is always the possibility that something unforeseen, something incalculable, may happen. This possibility can vanish only by a clear insight into the religion of the future.

But is not the future hidden in impenetrable gloom? Would it not be more important and more rational to live in the present? So we have ever been told. But a life so lived is weak and impotent. Such a life in the present alone is consumed by the past. The beauty of the past is celebrated, the truth of the past is preached, and the good of the past is worshiped and imitated. Do you know how redemption from this cult of death came, how a new day dawned that believed in its own self? It was by making the future the program, the goal, the power of the present: the power of the age to come, says the old Epistle to the Hebrews. It was not by walking back through the world to pluck flowers which had grown out of graves. It was by the birth of the purpose that the church should be not so much a hospital as a true "labor union," that faith should be used not so much as crutch and medicine for our weakness as a power to lift us above our weakness — not simply reconciling us to our pain, but transforming pain into higher life and health.

Is not God the living God? Are we to think that God granted his power only to a few select souls and only once, for a few decades or a century at most? If the Synoptists' Jesus were living to-day, would he not still speak of the Father as still sending the rain and clothing the lilies and caring for the sparrows and numbering the hairs of our heads? If John's Jesus were living to-day, would he not once again cry, My Father worketh *even until now?* Would not sin be forgiven with a fresh forgiveness, and peace be whispered with a living voice? Is not every living being a sign of the eternal creative power and omnipotent fullness of God? Then do not all participate in the omnipotent and creative divine energy? Then let us turn again from the demonstration of the letter and of the history to the demonstration of the spirit and of power. Every man who awakens to new life and strength desires to create something new, something unheard of, something that has never been before, something which shall witness to the eternal and unwithering life of the human soul. We have to-day still the blind that would see, the deaf that would hear, the lame that would walk, the leper that would be made whole. And if we are not able to give them that for which they yearn, that is, a light of their *own,* a life of their *own,* a power of their *own,* then is our faith a vain and dead thing which can never make the dead alive. Take some poor man who is blind and knows it not, and open his eyes that he may see in the deep of his own soul those invincible forces of life that would press up into the light — that would be a true miracle! Snap the fetters which bind you to dead customs and slaveries, have the courage of your own convictions, and you have set a captive free! Hearken not to public opinion so much as to the quiet, unexpressed voice of your own heart and conscience — remembering that truth is more powerful than public opinion — and you have made the deaf to hear, an outcast clean, the dead alive! This is the religion of power. Streams of living water flow from our souls. Liberation and illumination stream from our words and works. Enthusiasm which purifies us from hopelessness and *ennui* flames forth from the spirit. A holy fire melts the ice of the heart. These would be the signs and miracles of a new age. They would witness to the worth and the future

of man. Faith again would grow certain of itself, would see a supernatural in everything natural, a superhuman in all that is human. There would be, along with the living God, a living man, a life of the spirit, a springtime life of a coming humanity.

Then there would be no regrettable question as to which is the better faith, the "old" or the "new." There would be no old faith and there would be no new faith. There would be only weak faith and strong faith. There would be only the faith which speaks about *past* miracles and bases itself on *past* miracles and apologizes for *past* miracles about which it has *heard,* and the faith which *does* miracles now every day, every hour, enjoying perennial self-rejuvenation in heart and life. Wherever there has been a faith born of God it has been a power and not a weakness, courage and not cowardice. Therefore every kind of weakness and cowardice is *unfaith,* no matter how ecclesiastical and pious it may be. Wherever men substitute custom for truth, wherever the antiquity of an ecclesiastical past, the geographical extent of a faith and the number of its adherents, pass as proof for the inner right and the inner vitality of a faith, there is also the abandonment of the demonstration of the spirit and of power. Every faith whose persistence depends upon its profession, "Once I was," is corroded with anxiety and weakness that makes it impotent to regenerate the human heart and to liberate the human spirit. The faith of power has the other watchword, "I shall be!" And its power is that it feels the future alive in it.

This prophet religion of the future, and not the Nirvana religion of the past, was Jesus' religion. He faced forward. Would he not do so now? Men ask what Jesus thought, what he did. They mean that to think as he thought and to do as he did would be enough for them. They may do and think as Jesus did, but if Jesus were here to-day in our modern world, would *he* do and think as he *did?* In many ways not. He would cease to think some things and begin to think others; cease to do some things, and do others. The crystalline clearness of his mind and flawless truthfulness of his conscience would freely impel him to this. Were he alive to-day he would not copy the Jesus of that time and place. To copy even him is to kill the soul. He who said then, Let the dead bury their dead, go thou

and seek the kingdom of God; I am come to set a man at variance with his father; put not new wine into old bottles nor new patch on old garment; I am come to kindle a fire upon the earth, and how am it straitened till it be accomplished — he who said these things and such things as these (and if he did not say these things we do not know what he did say), and who condemned bitterly the custodians of the past who were not creators of a future, were he to walk up and down our earth to-day, would turn away from dead dogma, injurious survivals, meaningless customs, moribund churches, and make a new future, re-create life, release the spirit, and trust a God who lives and loves to-day. This, not to repeat a dead past, is what he would have us to do. The new world, inner and outer, could not be ours as a gift, even from him. In the nature of the case, we must make it ourselves. And we are not in a position to deny that we could do this, should science conclude that he never lived at all. Indeed it is not impossible that, if science came to this conclusion, a sense of release and freedom would come to many a soul whose true spontaneity and free development are abridged by the dogma of the authority of Jesus.

But if he lived, as I hold that he did, what is his function in the religion of a modern man? Not to fasten us to himself as a "letter" that would enslave and kill, whereas he stood for freedom and life. Not to have the effect of classicism in art, which sometimes buoys up a whole subsequent age, so that there is only imitation and not creation, monotony and not diversity, servility and not freedom. Not to donate ideals from afar. That is excluded by the nature of ideals and the mode by which we acquire them. And not to convert our religion into a religion of the past instead of a religion of the future. He said nothing of a lost paradise or of a fallen Adam or of a golden age in the past, nothing of the glory of a sun that was set. He never said, "It was!" He only said: "It shall be!" But the *shall be* could be made to be only by putting the hand to the plow and not looking back. What then is the place of Jesus in the religion of a modern man? Any one of you can answer now. Once again I shall let Bousset answer for all of us:

"But what now is the historical Jesus for us? Is it not for

us indifferent, whether or not, behind this whole stream of life, behind the mighty phenomenon of Christianity, there stand a unified, personally living force? Faith ever points and presses forward into the future; it will create, mold, recruit; it is a forceful, strenuous [*geschäftig*], powerful, active thing. Is not this continuous looking backward, living in memory, binding one's self to a remote, strange past, obstructive and dangerous for one's own life [*Wesen*]?

"We shall try now, only very briefly, to meet this objection. A parallel from domain other than that of religion may be of assistance here. We might also ask: Do not the great creations of past art have a crippling and inhibiting effect upon the joy in creative work and the independence of the present generation? They have actually had such an effect on many periods of artistic life: I mean all periods of one-sided classicism. And yet it would be the height of folly for us to seek to free ourselves as far as possible from the great works and masters of the art of the past.

"The case is exactly the same for the religious life. Neither art nor religion lives as do, for example, science and technology, from thoughts constituting an independent and closed system. Both art and religion are in a very different way dependent upon the past; they live upon the life of the great personalities of the past and their creations. Art in its original force is just in the works and persons of the great masters, at which ever anew new life is enkindled. So also religion is primarily present in the great dominating personalities of religious history, in the lawgivers, prophets, founders of religions, and reformers. The history of religion has here spoken too clearly. The religions which stand at the summit of development are those behind which — at their beginnings or in the course of them — stand great, effective personalities. And if we wished to explain (as is, however, impossible) all those personalities as myths and imaginary figures, still this instinct of personification, which shows itself ever anew at the highest points of religion, would remain inexplicable, and bear witness to the power of personality in the religious life. And this attachment of all religious life to great personalities appears more and more clearly in the course of history. The productive, independent, life-generating force of religion has fallen

off. Since the appearance of Christianity, only one religion has arisen — Islam. And all the great personalities who have really furthered the course of Christianity have been convinced that they derived their life from the life of Jesus of Nazareth, whom, to be sure, in many cases, they only saw covered with thick and often very strange veils. Religion lives only in and from great personalities. We must ever anew kindle our little fire at their great fire. But the center and the highest point of all these leaders bearing the life of religion is the person of Jesus.

"But if this is the case, those personalities, and this one surpassing them all, are not dead historical past, which would be a fetter on the life of the present. They live and are present; the life of the present is kindled by them. It is our fault if there remains mere authority — faith and a dependence on the past. From the figure of Jesus of Nazareth, sweeps on a stream of fresh life; but we throw ourselves into this stream and let it bear us."

Now that I have made this long quotation, I am not entirely satisfied with it. I once was, and urged the same point as powerfully as I could in my former book. It is not that I mean to recede from emphasis upon the epoch-making importance of outstanding personalities. It is, however, that I have come to wonder whether, for one thing, the emphasis be not a bit overdone, and, for another, whether the significance of the Great Man in the past shall be kept up in the future. You may think a moment of the genesis of our religion, to illustrate the first of my two scruples. Did Jesus entirely originate that primitive messianic cult with which our religion is continuous? On the contrary, the contribution which the historical Jesus made thereto is most difficult to determine. It is probable that his self-consciousness powerfully influenced the development of the new community, that it was through his own messianic certainty that his person became the center of the "gospel"—his *person,* now of more value to the circle of the faithful than his *cause.* It was not the ethics — religious message which Jesus proclaimed, it was salvation through the Messiah, that was the central thing in this original faith of primitive Christianity. It was not a Jesus-cult; it was

a messiah cult. Sharply enough has Professor Otto Pfleiderer combated present-day historical error on this subject:

"We will guard carefully against committing the error so widespread to-day of reading into the biblical documents something they do not contain, and of putting aside everything which they do contain that is not entirely agreeable to our modern manner of thinking. It is in such fashion that the well-known Jesus romances originate, shooting up like mushrooms from the ground; we may well grant those poets the privilege of doing such work, but they ought not to lay claim to the credit of telling actual history. Just that which to the modern consciousness is odd, which in fact seems to offend it, just that usually reveals that which is historically most characteristic — the thing upon which the thoroughgoing success of the Christian faith rested." *

In other words, it was precisely those "supernatural" and catastrophic parts of the movement which history itself has shown to be an error of the period; it was miracle and mystery and sacrament and charisms, which are now interesting problems of psychology and not content of religious metaphysics — it was precisely these things that were most effective in that primitive situation. And yet not these alone. A number of observations should be made here. Not a single factor, but only a plurality of factors, is cause of an event.

No one person makes a religion, any more than one person makes a language.

"What can be more complicated, more logical, more marvelous than a language? Yet whence can this admirably organized production have arisen, except it be the outcome of the unconscious genius of crowds? The most learned scholars, the most esteemed grammarians, can do no more than note down the laws that govern language. They would be utterly incapable of creating them. Even with respect to the ideas of great men, are we certain that they are exclusively the offspring of their brains? No doubt such ideas are always created by solitary minds, but is it not the genius of crowds that has furnished the thousands of grains of dust forming the soil in which they have sprung up?" †

* *Religion and Historic Faith*, pp. 252 ff.

† Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd*, p. 9.

Similarly, Jesus by himself alone could never have led to the organization of a new cult. To begin with, such a community could not have arisen had the Roman officials ruling in Judea made it a matter of policy not to interfere with the inner religious affairs of the people, unless political necessity required them to do so. Then, again, Judaism at that time was acquainted with very various sectarian formations: Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes. There were also separate rabbinical schools. These new messianists, by no means disengaged from the common Israelitish stock, could easily pass as another school, or order, or sect, in the eyes of the Roman authorities. But for another thing especially, the new cult could never have arisen had it not been for the inveterate messianic hope and the traditional messianic dogmatics which so apprehended and assimilated Jesus, which so messianized him, that his own central message is obscured here. Would not Jesus have said to these messianic worshipers, It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve? Most of all must we think of the immemorial historical creations of whole peoples, stones carved from so many quarries at cost of so much sweat and blood, for the building of this new temple! God, Spirit, Messiah, resurrection, judgment-day, kingdom of heaven — consider the age-long historic experience which developed these concepts in the function of a higher life. Was not a greater contribution made to their formation and skill of functioning by the long racial experimentation and achievement than was made by Jesus himself, even? Besides, we have just begun to trace the relations of our ecclesiastical beginnings, inchoate, even then, to the hidden, far-off primitive sagas of other folk-travail, and also to Israelitish popular lore. Multitudinous toil from numberless individuals and nations earned the heritage of messianism into which the primitive community now entered — other men and peoples labored, and it entered into their labors. And if Jesus, with joy and gratitude, would have his disciples recognize this principle as they reaped the Samaritan harvest, he would have been the first to pay tribute to the sowers and reapers from out the gray historic life of that messianic harvest which his disciples were now to garner. To be sure, his own contribution was epoch-making, but, as I have said, there is a real sense in

which epoch-makers are themselves made. It is difficult to state this matter briefly without seeming to contradict the underivable originality of Jesus, but the contradiction is only apparent, and I hold to both, as I do to both individualism and collectivism in social philosophy.

But my second critical remark upon Bousset's position — which, nevertheless, is, as I say, for substance still my own — is as to whether the Great Man shall be as controlling in the future as in the past. Aristocracies of the old kind are passing away: feudal aristocracies, aristocracies of birth, capitalistic aristocracies. A new aristocracy is arising, the *aristocracy of democracy, knights* of labor. The emphasis is to be upon *the people.* The Creator seems to have thought that one Niagara was enough for a continent, but he has made thousands of little streams to flow by our homes and through our fields, and the glory and the greatness of our country is due not so much to Niagara as to these little streams which gladden and refresh the earth. Not denying the kindling power of the Great Man of the past, are we not showing wisdom in finding inspiration and rebuke in the cheerful godliness, the fidelity to duty, the heroic and uncomplaining self-sacrifice, the unselfish love and service manifested by plain men and women in the common lot all around us to-day — by the washerwoman supporting her family of little children, the unfortunate merchant who sacrifices every comfort and pleasure that he may quietly pay his honest debts, the young man who gives up college that he may earn the money for his sister's education, the old people toiling in the dark at the mountain's foot to keep the boy at school so that, as they say, he may have a better chance in life than they have had. Ah, my friends, human nature's soil did not exhaust itself in growing one bright consummate flower; the earth is bursting with new bloom every day. "But the beautiful life which is lived by the 'common herd' to-day, has not that life come from the life of Jesus?" you ask. That is just the point. Has it? What is the fact? Is human goodness aristocratic, nay monarchic, or is it democratic? All prejudices and fears aside, it is evident that human nature's creative power in the world of goodness is not limited to the Great Man and the Great Man's influence, but, though graded, is immanent and constant in the

race; it is evident, therefore, that the democratic goodness about us is not so much a donation from Jesus as a creation of modern men who are as certainly children of God as Jesus was himself — if so be, as Paul said, God is One. The contrary position is a survival of the ecclesiastical doctrine of original sin, of the *non posse non peccari,* of the total moral inability of man on account of the fall, a position which, though not meant to be such, is really blasphemy against God and man. Think of our human patriotism, often with its self-immolating heroism; of our love of family and home, often with its chaste grace and beauty; of our social life, not without its neighborliness; of our business world, with its energy and survey and foresight, not without its fine philanthropies; of our land dotted with schools, where ideals sprout and bloom: think of these things, and you cannot escape the conviction that they are traceable to the elemental and inalienable impulses and processes of human nature itself even more than to the Man of Galilee, who indeed does not seem to have made much of any of them. And even if you think of the achievement of an autonomous good will for which Jesus seems to have centrally stood, we know that it belongs to the idea and plan of the human itself to press forward to the mark of the prize of this high calling. This was the great message of Kant, but can we honestly contend that Kant either derived the message from Jesus or depended chiefly upon Jesus for its fulfillment?

But I must not pursue the subject farther at this time. I trust I have hurt no one's feelings. In my opinion, what I have said would meet with the approval of that Jesus who thought of himself as *like* the good shepherd that laid down his life for the sheep, *like* the father of the prodigal, whose loving and wounded heart forgave all, *like* the poor widow, who gave her all, all her living; like the good Samaritan, rather than like the aristocratic priest and Levite. And it was because he was *like* this homely democratic goodness, which he did not make, but *found already there,* that he was greater than the monarchic David or Solomon.

Fourth Topic of the Congress,

"RELIGION AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION."

THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE AND THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

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The most remarkable discovery of the present generation — more characteristic of the present age than the telephone or the automobile or aerial navigation — is the discovery of the Social Conscience; the unprecedented activity of social responsibility and social service, the new definition of duty in terms of social obligation and social redemption. Never in human history were so many people, learned and ignorant, employers and employed, rich and poor, wise and otherwise, so seriously concerned with the question of social justice, the answering of social problems and the realizing of social dreams. A European philosopher has lately said that as the fifteenth century is remembered for its renaissance of art, and the sixteenth century for the revival of religion, and the seventeenth century as an epoch in philosophy, and the eighteenth century as the era of democracy, and the nineteenth century as the period of applied science, so the twentieth century will be recalled by succeeding generations as the Age of the Social Question. The studies which interpret society create a new education; the legislation which adjusts society gives a new function to government; the practical devotion of multitudes to social amelioration opens the way to a new expansion of morality.

Nowhere is this call of the social conscience more clearly heard than in the organizations dedicated to religion. No church can justify its existence in the Age of the Social Question without adding to its equipment for worship a further equipment for work. Behind the house of prayer rises the parish house, with

its clubs and classes, its deaconesses and visitors, its gymnasiums and kindergartens, its social settlement and personal relief. What then, one asks himself, is to be the effect on the religious life of this age of social conscience? Is a social program to be substituted for a religious faith? Is the church as the shrine to be supplanted by the church as a workshop? Is communion with God to be crowded out by service to man, sociology to be more important than theology and a change in the economic order more desired than a change in the human heart?

To these questions it must be first of all replied that a genuine sense of difficulty has begun to manifest itself at this point both among those who represent the religious life and among those who represent the social conscience. On the one hand there are many devout persons who view with scepticism, if not with alarm, this movement of social service. They have been taught to regard religion as a personal redemption from sin or a spiritual allegiance to Christ, and to identify religion with boys' clubs and recreation classes seem to them to confuse two distinct spheres of life. The London Spectator lately suggested that the Christian religion might be defined as "philanthropy touched and warmed by the spirit of Jesus Christ;" but to many Christian disciples this would seem not only a blankly unhistorical but a grotesquely inadequate definition, and they would be apprehensive lest under such a definition the warmth of the philanthropy might supplant the reverence for Jesus Christ. A Christian minister, standing in a Woman's Settlement House, said: "This is very beautiful, but I wish there were more of Christ in it." The very beauty of this perfect flower of philanthropy excited in him a pang of regret because the flower had no tag bearing his Master's name.

On the other hand, this apprehension of religious people is met by many representatives of the social conscience with undisguised indifference, if not with contempt. A great proportion of modern social service has become, consciously or unconsciously, quite dissociated from the religious life and regards the teachings of religion as either superfluous or unreal. "Society," an English scholar has said, "has absorbed into its tissue a large measure of that moral idealism for which the church once seemed the soli-

tary representative. The church has stood aloof from the world and now the world takes daily revenge by standing aloof from the church. Organized charity has found the differences of Christian creeds so obstructive of a common task that it has in large degree practically secularized itself and even prohibits its agents from religious service. The same indifference marks the conduct of labor organizations in all countries. At the same hour when religious people are meeting for worship these unions of wage-earners meet to deliberate on industrial problems, and they do not hesitate to claim that these topics are quite as instructive and elevating as many sermons. Religion appears to them to be occupied with matters too remote from daily life to have any genuine interest, and the contemplation of eternity is regarded as a luxury reserved for capitalists. "My associates," the President of the American Federation of Labor has stated, "have come to look upon the Church and the Ministry as the apologists and defenders of the wrong committed against the interests of the people!" Finally, when one passes from the organization of labor to the party of revolution he meets a temper of mind which is not only neutral but often openly hostile. In the formal problems of revolutionary socialism religion is, it is true, announced to be a matter of private concern, and Marx himself was indisposed to any frontal attack upon religion, believing that the law of economic determinism would, in its inevitable fulfillment, sweep away this illusion with the other products of capitalism. "For a society," he said, "whose economic methods consist in dealing with products as commodities and values, Christianity is the most appropriate form of religion. This religious reflection of the real world will finally vanish when the conditions of practical life establish rational relations with men and with nature." "Religion," wrote Bebel, "will not be abolished or God dethroned. Without attack by force Religion will naturally perish. It is a transcendent reflection of the existing social order." Thus the social revolutionists join hands with the theological reactionists in their distrust of any intimacy between the social conscience and the religious life. On the one hand social service appears an inadequate substitute for religion, on the other hand it appears to be a new religion. "Socialism," Liebknecht said, "is at once

a science and a religion. In its appeal to the feelings it has the entire force of Christianity, in its appeal to the mind it has all the strength of science."

If then the gulf between these two teachings seems so wide and deep, and hesitancy on the one side is confronted by contempt on the other, shall we conclude that the Age of the Social Conscience is to be a time when the religious life is likely to lose its momentum and power? Is the Christian church occupied with a survival rather than with a revival, a dead issue rather than a living faith? On the contrary, such a conclusion fails to recognize both the nature of the social conscience and the nature of the religious life. If religion were primarily concerned with ecclesiastical machinery and dogmatic definitions, and if the social conscience were concerned with nothing but an economic problem or a party organization, then it would seem unlikely that the two undertakings should combine. There is little in common between debates on the orders of clergy or the condition of sinners after death and discussions on the eight-hour day or the rent on land. But if, on the other hand, both religion and the social conscience are interpretations of life; if both are primarily concerned with conduct, duty, desire, hope; then it is not only needless but impossible to hold them asunder. The religion which is fit for the present age must be a social religion and the conscience fit for the present age must be a social conscience; and the most pressing problem of the moment is to determine the points of coincidence between these two spiritual forces and the direction of their co-operation. What is it in the religious life which justifies its social service and what is it in the social conscience which reaffirms the religious life?

To answer these questions one must ask another. What is religion, and what organ of expression does it naturally use? Here we meet the various philosophies of religion with their different interpretations of the religious life. Is religious experience, they inquire, primarily a form of thought or a movement of emotion or a decision of the will? Are we in religion primarily rationalists or mystics or moral idealists? Is religion a doctrine or a feeling or a pledge? The history of the philosophy of religion has almost exclusively emphasized the first two of these con-

ceptions. Either, as with Hegel, the reason has seemed the medium of the Eternal, or, with Schleiermacher, the feelings have opened a channel of communion deeper than the reason could provide. This issue between the rationalists and the mystics has usually been regarded as the *crux* of the philosophy of religion, as though between these two alternatives the religious life must choose. Is there not, however, a third way of communion between the soul and the Eternal, a path which leads from morality to faith, a religious experience whose beginning is in the will, a road accessible to those whose religion begins in little more than a simple desire to do their duty? This is the path to the religious life which was first explored by Kant and has now been made familiar by Fichte and by Martineau. It begins in decision and leads to insight. Its first step is duty and its last reward is vision. "Obedience," said Robertson, in one of his greatest sermons, "is the organ of spiritual knowledge. In every department of knowledge there is an appropriate organ or instrument for the discovery of truth. Obedience is the sole organ by which we gain a knowledge of that which cannot be seen or felt. By doing God's will we recognize what He is."

When one turns with these teachings of philosophy to the Gospel of Jesus Christ he finds them strikingly anticipated and confirmed. Great disclosures of truth were made by him to the reason, and high emotions invited his followers to imitation, but when we trace the way in which Jesus habitually drew men to himself, nothing is more obvious than the fact that he appealed, first of all, not to their intellects or their feelings, but to their wills. What he first asks is, not theological accuracy or mystic ecstasy, but practical obedience and moral decision. "Follow me," He says, "Take up thy cross and follow. He that willeth to do the will shall know the doctrine." The dedication of the will is the first step toward the religious life; it is not the whole of religion, it is perhaps not the best of it, but it is the beginning of it. Disclosures of truth lie beyond this decision of the will and high moods of rapture or peace; but the way to these heights lies up the steep path which obedience has to climb. And here is where numbers of persons make their great mistake. They have thought they could be Christians with their minds

or with their hearts, without enlisting their wills. They have kept their religious life in one compartment of experience where it satisfies their reason or their emotions but does not seriously affect their conduct. "Things have come to a pretty pass," Lord Melbourne is reported to have said after hearing an evangelical sermon, "when religion is allowed to invade the sphere of private life." The teaching of Jesus demands precisely this invasion of private life. It tolerates no schism between the mind and the will, no double standard of living, no theological bimetallism. The silver of duty-doing and the gold of religious faith are interchangeable mediums of spiritual exchange. Service is the current coin of the unit of value, and as it accrues it becomes religion. The way of conscience and the vision of faith, ethics and religion, idealism and theism, are in the teachings of Jesus one continuous process which has its beginning in the appeal to the will.

> "Our wills are ours we know not how,
> Our wills are ours to make them thine."

If, then, among the many ways to the religious life there is one which leads from obedience to knowledge, from the willing of the will to the knowing of the doctrine, then this truth has profound significance for the Age of the Social Conscience. For what is this wonderful renaissance of special responsibility but the dedication of the will on an unprecedented scale to the service of the modern world; and is not this, according to the teaching of modern philosophy and the teaching of Jesus, the first step toward practical religion? Very far removed from religion much of the social agitation of the time may appear to be, and some of those who are concerned with it may even protest against the insinuation of a religious aim; yet this unconsciousness of coöperation with God or even the denial of it, does not affect the fact of that coöperation. Many a plowman bending over his furrow lifts his eyes but seldom to the sun which none the less persuades his crop; many a sailor takes little heed of the laws which govern the winds; and with the same unconsciousness, many a servant of social needs stumbles along with downcast eyes as though his work were but routine and drudgery, while in fact as he trudges along his furrow he is coöperating with the Sun of Righteousness or as

he navigates the troubled sea of modern life he is running down the trade wind of universal law. Never were so many people repelled by the technicalities of religion, yet never were there so many people of whom the great words could be spoken: "Not every one that said unto me, Lord, Lord, but he that doeth the will of my father;" never were there so many who might ask in surprise: "When saw we thee hungry and fed thee, or a stranger and took thee in?" are fit to receive the answer: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these least, ye did it unto me." In a word, if either the teaching of Jesus or the teaching of modern philosophy may be trusted, this awakening of the social conscience represents, not an abandonment of the religious life nor yet a substitute for it, but a way — not yet clearly marked indeed, but traceable,— along which the modern mind may reach a religion appropriate to its needs. The theologians have found in the condition of the world which opened the way for the extension of Christianity, a Divine preparation for the new faith — a "Preparatio Evangelica" of the Christian dispensation. May not the Social Conscience of the present age open the way to another revival of religion and be the "Preparatio Evangelica" of the twentieth century? It is perhaps not the straightest path to faith; it is certainly not the only path; but for many persons under the conditions of the present age it is the path most immediately open and it is not so important what path one takes as it is that he shall start from the point where he happens to be and not stop until the end is reached. A young man enters my office, and asks with evident emotion: "Do you know of any Boys' Club, where I could work?" "What is the matter, my boy?" I ask. "Nothing is the matter," he answers, "I am not in trouble; but my ideals are losing their hold on my life, and I thought I had better do something for somebody else." What was, in reality, happening to that young soul? Whatever it was, it had to utter itself in the language of the present age, which is the Age of the Social Question. A spiritual desire took the form of a social service. But was it not the touch of the Holy Spirit which had moved this life from lethargy and self-interest; the same touch which in other ages has brought thousands to confession of sin or conversion of heart? And must not teachers

of religion be alert to recognize the new ways in which the life of God may lead the life of man, and welcome the doing of the Will as a first step to a knowing of the Doctrine?

And if it be true that the social conscience and the religious life are thus to be regarded, neither as competitors nor as alternatives, but as successive experiences and logical steps in the education of the human race, then there follow from this truth two practical consequences of the utmost importance. The first may be described as the spiritualization of the social movement and the second may be described as the socialization of the religious life. What, on the one hand, is the most immediate peril which threatens the Social movement? It is the peril of a practical materialism, the interpretation of a great human movement in terms of machinery, the expectation that a change in economic methods will of itself produce a change of heart. And what, to state the case from the other side, is the chief source of hope and courage in the movement of social service? It is the discovery, which many minds at many points of this great adventure are now making, that beneath the forms of economic change there is proceeding a spiritual enterprise which the present age is called to serve. A woman, for example, concerns herself with the administration of charity, and the problems which confront her, of wages, housing, idleness, food and drink, may seem to be wholly affairs of economic conditions and material wants. This external aspect of her task may almost extinguish its spiritual significance, as a flame flickers and dies where the atmosphere is foul. What room is there, she may ask, for religious idealism in so unspiritual a task? "Give me the luxuries of life," Mr. Motley once humorously said, "and I can dispense with the necessities;" and it may well seem to this servant of the poor that the high doctrines of religion are offering her the luxuries of philosophy, while the necessities of existence still remain unsupplied. Must she not, then, abandon her spiritual ideals, and apply herself to the terrible concrete facts of her immediate work? On the contrary, the spiritualization of charity is essential both to efficiency and courage. Nothing redeems the work of relief from dullness and despondency except the capacity for spiritual vision. Let the agent of relief forget her idealism, and she be-

comes a social mechanic, an official, or a statistician, and is on the high road to discouragement, perfunctoriness and despair. The mechanism of her task can be endured only as she discerns the meaning of her task. Her faith is not a luxury but a necessity. She is patient with the real because she beholds the ideal. The unresponsive life before her is a symbol of her hope, and becomes transfigured into interest, picturesqueness and sanctity. Sir Launfal, seeking for the Holy Grail, left unnoticed the leper at his door; but as he returned from that distant quest, the ideal he had sought was revealed to him in the duty he had ignored, and:

> "The leper no longer crouched by his side,
> But stood before him, glorified,
> Shining, and tall, and fair, and straight,
> As the pillar that stood by the Beautiful Gate."

The same story may be told in the language of the industrial world of many an employer, who is converting economic life into an instrument of justice; and of many an employee who is offering to business life a fidelity and efficiency for which no wage-system can pay. These men may fancy themselves far removed from the influence of the spiritual life. They may listen but languidly to the preachers of other worldliness. They may conceive of the Christian ministry as a useless caste, and of the Christian church as of a capitalist-club. They are too busy to be pious and too conscious of temptation to be saints. And yet, if the Christian life is to have any place in the modern world, it must be precisely where these men are set, in the heat of the world's work and the noise of the world's care and the worst of disasters, alike for religion and for business, is to separate the one from the other. When Jesus looked about him for the habit of life which he desired to commend, he found it most conspicuously in those people who were doing, as it should be done, the common work of the business world. The investor of his talents; the porter at the gate; the farmer in the field; the merchant with his pearls; the woman at her house work; — how common and worldly; — how far from the religion of the Scribes and the Pharisees, were these types of holiness! Yet of these commonplace people, who had thus spiritualized their Social Question so

that their daily business could meet the test of Christ, he said: "Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." It is the same to-day. Lawrence Oliphant once said that the greatest need of modern England was a "spiritually-minded man of the world,"— a man, that is to say, who could be in the world, yet not subdued to that he worked in, and who found it not impossible to do the world's work with a spiritual mind. He is like a potter, molding his clay; he does not wash his hands of it because it soils them, or dabble in it like a little boy for the sake of getting dirty; but he uses it just as it is and shapes it into the forms of use or beauty which are possible under the limits of the clay. Precisely such material is offered by the modern business world, and the spiritually-minded man of the world does not dabble in its dirt, or run away from it because it is unclean, but shapes it into the use and beauty to which, just as it is, it may be applied. No harder test was ever offered to the spiritual life than this demand that it shall adapt itself to the material conditions of an industrial democracy. The new spirituality must be shaped out of the common clay of commercial conditions, and hardened in the fire of industrial temptation, and those who can meet this test have spiritualized their social question and found in it the instrument of a consistent religious faith.

And if religion is thus called to spiritualize the Social Question, so — on the other hand — the Social Question is called to socialize the religious life. The religion of individualism which has dominated Christian thought for many generations has become as impotent to interpret the modern world as the economics or the politics of individualism. Through the modern miracles of invention, discovery, exploration, and intercommunication, the world has become, as never before in its history, a unit instead of a series of disconnected interests and aims. The problems of the time are world-problems, and the power of each part is its world-power. What the Apostle Paul wrote of the Christian church has become realized of the whole social order. We are members of one body, and the strength or weakness of each member is the health or sickness of the whole. And if it is thus true that the civilization of the twentieth century is to be in an unprecedented degree socialized, then the religion of the twentieth century, if it

would continue to be a factor in its civilization, must socialize its ideals and must save people, not singly but together, as prosperous and poor, as employers and employed, as white and black, as Oriental and Occidental. The socialization of religion calls for a new spirit in missions, a new expansion of the church, a new definition of the ministry, and a new realization of the purpose of Jesus when he "came into Galilee preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God." It is often said that the profession of the ministry has lost its hold on the modern world, and that the future of the Christian Church is imperiled by lack of men to serve her. The socialization of religion points to quite another conclusion. What is really happening is not so much a decline of the Christian ministry, as an expansion of it, into ways of service which have not yet become recognized as legitimate branches of the profession, but which would certainly have commended themselves to Jesus Christ as appropriate for his discipleship. Must the Christian ministry be defined as exclusively a talking profession; or may it count among its members that great body of self-effacing servants of the common good who are going up and down the modern world, not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give their lives a ransom for many? Did not Jesus himself, when he opened the Book to read of his own mission, find the place where it was written: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor, and the opening of the eyes to the blind, and the setting at liberty them that are bruised;" and are not they who serve the poor and blind and bruised of this present age, converting the Age of the Social Question into an acceptable year of the Lord? Students for the ministry and pastors of Christian churches may well take heart again as they observe this expansion of their calling, which gives them new allies and new hope. The ecclesiasticism of the Middle Ages may have involved many mistaken conceptions of the Church and the ministry, but on this point at least it has much to teach the modern world. It assumed that the whole of life lay within the province of the church. Not preachers and monks alone, but scholars and artists, lay-brothers and nursing sisters, had their legitimate offices within the sphere of Christian work, and the hum-

blest servant ploughing the fields of the monastery or washing the utensils of the scullery, was conscious of doing a sacred task for whose success he might fitly ask his Master's help. Vastly more generous and inclusive is the new conception of the Christian ministry which offers itself to the present age. It includes not merely priests and preachers, with their still indispensable functions of religious leadership, and not alone the technical and conscious offices of the organized church, but the great company of sincere and faithful servants of the world's great needs, the prophets of the better social order and the instruments of industrial justice and peace. Never was the Christian ministry, as thus largely conceived, more adequately manned or more loyally served; and never did the ministers of religion have more right to confidence and courage than in this sense of large alliance with the social conscience of the modern world.

Here, then, is an approach to an answer of the question with which we began. The Social Conscience and the Religious Life are not two ways of living, but one continuous path, along which the duty of the present time is led toward the Eternal. Up the way of the Social Conscience toil the servants of the modern world; and on that steep path they meet the Master of the Religious Life, saying, "Follow me," "Take up your cross and follow." The farther they go, and the higher ground they gain, the clearer becomes their vision of the world at their feet. The doing of their duty has brought them where they see things in true perspective and proportion. They have — as Robert Louis Stevenson said of Jesus Christ — not so much views of things, as a view. The limited horizon of their Ethics enlarges into the infinite horizon of their Religion. And finally they discover that they have not climbed alone, but have been all along the way guided and led. Through the silences of duty they hear the summons of the Eternal; and the call of the Social Conscience becomes not only a call to man, but not less clearly a call from God.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

HON. F. J. SWAYZE, JUSTICE SUPREME COURT OF NEW JERSEY

The subject at first assigned to me — The duty of Religious people towards Honest Politics — left no room for discussion. The duty to support and encourage honest politics is plain, and the duty of religious people is neither less nor greater than that of all good citizens. The title contained a suggestion that there might be politics of another kind, and there has recently been a good deal in magazines and newspapers to indicate a widespread belief that politics is necessarily dishonest and corrupt. If such were the fact, our outlook for the future would be a hopeless one, since almost every step in advance, and almost every reform must necessarily require political action. Fortunately the subject you chose contained also a clear intimation that politics might be honest. It is a hopeful sign that the tendency is so decidedly away from the rule of corruption and dishonesty toward the rule of real political leaders, dealing not merely with the traffic in public offices and the sale of legislative favors, but with live public questions upon great considerations of public policy. With politics of this higher kind religion has close relations.

There was a time when the political conduct of man was determined by their religious views. At the time of the Protestant Reformation, the great public questions were so involved with men's theological opinions, and their theological views were so interwoven with their political conduct, that a man's politics and his religion were synonymous, and the political parties were either Catholic or Protestant. Only great rulers, like Henry IV of France or Elizabeth of England, could rise superior to mere theological differences and realize that a man might be a patriotic Englishman although a Catholic, or a patriotic Frenchman although a Protestant. We in our time can hardly appreciate, and certainly cannot share, the feeling that looked on the Pope as a possible final arbiter of controversies, or the intense opposition which this feeling encountered. The growth of the spirit of religious freedom and the rise of modern nationalities claiming the affection and allegiance once claimed by the church have

produced a tremendous change, and to-day, the old theological opinions have little or nothing to do with the political conduct of reasonable men. When the old spirit crops out, it is almost confined to men of narrow minds and to regions remote from the great intellectual centers. Recent events have shown forcibly how weak and unimportant this mediaeval spirit has become in the Twentieth century. Fortunately for us in the United States, the spirit which prevailed when our governments were formed was the spirit of Roger Williams and William Penn and Lord Baltimore, a spirit which found expression in my own State of New Jersey in the concessions of Berkeley and Carteret in 1664, and 1665, immediately after the conquest of the Dutch Colony of New Netherlands by the English, and a few months after the land had been conveyed to them by the Duke of York. Those concessions provided that no persons should be at any time in any way molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference of opinion or practice in matters of religious concernments, who did not actually disturb the civil peace of the province, and that all persons should freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness, or to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others. The concessions most significantly add: "Any law, statute, usage or custom of the realm of England to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding." The spirit of religious catholicity which breathes in those concessions marks the difference between the fundamental conceptions on which our American governments were founded and the conception which then prevailed in England, when people were made frantic by the Popish plot, or in France where a few years later the bigotry of Louis XIV brought about the revocation of the edict of Nantes. We in this country are fortunate in a liberal beginning, in the development and spread of the spirit which divorces theological convictions from political action, and requires our governments to allow the utmost liberality of religious opinion, or even want of religious opinion. We are fortunate also because the spirit of the early days is with us still. This intimate union between religion and politics resulted not only in

this spirit of religious freedom, but that went hand in hand with the spirit of political liberty, which, as Burke said, was fostered by the fact that the prevailing religious views of the colonies were not the views of a government but of a variety of denominations agreeing in nothing but in the communion of the spirit of liberty. How much this spirit of political liberty was helped by the prevalence of Calvinistic theology which recognized God alone as the supreme Ruler, we cannot tell, but religious liberals must recognize our own indebtedness to the Calvinistic churches from which many of us have sprung, as well as the liberality of practice of those with which we are in daily contact. It was no light service that religion rendered to politics in establishing by the very conflict of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the principles of civil and religious liberty which are set forth in our bills of rights. And it was no accident that the first general assembly of the Presbyterian church was so nearly contemporaneous with the meeting of the Federal Convention of 1787.

The union between religion and politics has long since ceased, but it does not follow that the influence of one upon the other is, or even ought to be, at an end. "Religion," says Matthew Arnold, "is that which binds and holds us to the practice of righteousness." If we limit our definition of religion as Arnold limits it, the relation between religion and politics ought to be intimate. Religion would then deal with the theoretical ethical basis of public conduct, and politics with the practical achievement of what is right. Such a consummation, is, of necessity, only a dream. Most men would regard Arnold's conception of religion as too hazy and nebulous, and the time is far distant, if indeed it ever comes, when religion will be so identified with ethics by the majority, and the time is still more remote when politics is to become the practice of righteousness. It is remote because in political conduct we must always deal with the hopes and passions and the fears of men, who, by temperament, education and environment, honestly take different views of public questions even when they are not self-deluded by their self-interest so that they translate their individual advantage or their inherited prejudices into maxims of conduct which they sincerely regard

as ethical. The practical man of affairs is compelled, if he desires to accomplish anything, to ask himself often, not whether a particular line of conduct is right, but whether it is expedient; and even those who go most directly to the proper goal are compelled to be, to some extent at least, opportunists. Religion in its broadest sense asks of a line of conduct, "Is it right?" Politics asks, "Is it expedient or opportune?" A statesman cannot steer his course directly to the harbor and plunge through wave and storm like a great steamer driven by tremendous power within; he must rather tack and trim his sails to catch the breeze; and all that we can fairly ask is that in the long run he shall prove to have steered a true course. It is because men in public life must compromise and yield in order to secure their main object, that the question whether a man is a mere politician or really a statesman is so often left in doubt until after he is dead.

The difference in the point of view does not prevent the interaction of religion and politics one upon the other. Such interaction is inevitable with two subjects of such vast consequence as the theoretical ethical basis of public conduct and the attempt to secure its actual realization.

One of the great dangers in public life is that the great general principles which have actuated the past and become the axioms of conduct may, by their very success, become mere commonplaces, and be lost sight of or disregarded in the strenuous effort to accomplish practical results of apparent immediate importance. Our political principles may become atrophied for want of question and discussion. The great principles of religious freedom and political liberty which occupied the attention of the seventeenth and eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are in danger of being forgotten for want of the debate which attended their establishment. They arose out of the fierce heat of political conflict; they may perish because it is no longer necessary to struggle in their behalf.

> "Our hearts grow cold,
> We lightly hold
> A right which brave men died to gain;
> The stake, the cord,
> The axe, the sword,
> Grim nurses at its birth of pain."

Citizens of foreign birth often seem to have a better knowledge and a greater appreciation of the fundamental principles of our government than many native born Americans who take their inheritance as a matter of course without stopping to consider its value. Our constitutional guarantees themselves have weakened the individual sense of responsibility on the part of the legislator and the private citizen. It is assumed that if an act of legislation is wrong, the courts will find a way to declare it unconstitutional. The courts cannot often do so; their power is not and ought not to be unlimited; they do not, and they ought not to, act as a third house of the legislature. What is needed is a quickening of the individual conscience to a sense of individual responsibility in public conduct, and this is a very proper work for religion. It is especially proper at a time like the present when the old theological conceptions have largely spent their force, and men are coming to hold their political convictions and their economic views with the same fervor with which they once held to their theological convictions.

The founders of our government were familiar with the doctrines of political liberty advocated by Locke as the necessary ethical foundation of the "glorious revolution" of 1689, and taught by Montesquieu and Rousseau. Locke and Montesquieu and Rousseau are no longer read by men of affairs. The great questions at issue no longer concern the liberty of the individual; they are questions of economics, which have arisen with the tremendous creation of power through the utilization of steam and electricity in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The churches are to-day giving their attention to efforts to secure the material well-being of the people, and the study of sociology is said to be supplanting the study of Hebrew in the theological seminaries. No doubt this is proper, but if in the effort to secure the material comforts of the present we reject the fundamental principles which make material comfort possible for larger numbers than enjoyed it centuries ago, and adopt new notions which discard the experience of the past, we may find that we have made a sad exchange of old lamps for new. "We have a religion," cries a character in a popular play, "and it is socialism." Now socialism rests fundamentally upon the

idea that each man will work for the benefit of all as well as he will for his own individual interest. I am by nature and by training a conservative, but I am not so conservative as to think there is no room for improvement. I am convinced that the era of freedom of contract is better for the human race than the era of the feudal system, but it may be that as the great world spins forever down the ringing grooves of change, human nature may become so perfect that our old-fashioned maxims will become out of date. I fear that the time is still in the far distant future. The experience of our municipal governments is not reassuring. Meantime we are forced into a discussion of the most fundamental conceptions of society, involving even the institution of marriage and the right of private property, and the limitations to be imposed upon the right of inheritance. If men are coming to hold their economic notions with the force of religious convictions, religion has a tremendous task before it in the political sphere. In comparison with this task, the struggle against bribery, and corruption, and graft, whether in their more gross or their more subtle forms, becomes quite insignificant. These are but symptoms. The disease lies deeper. Changes in human society are bound to come and we can look forward to them courageously if they are to come in the future as they have come into English and American institutions in the past by a process of evolution and not by a process of revolution. Freedom has broadened slowly down from precedent to precedent, and social progress will be faster if we go straight forward slowly, step by step, than if we find a more rapid advance checked by "backward swinging curves." I distrust the a priori speculations of the closet philosopher, and believe that the success of a social system depends upon the general average of public intelligence and public virtue more than upon any governmental system or upon legislation. To raise the average of public virtue and public intelligence is the great work for religion. This is peculiarly the case in a popular government. Such a government naturally is inclined to devote itself to securing the material well-being of the citizen, and to lead men to a consideration of their rights rather than of their duties. Our very prosperity and the increase of wealth which has followed our greater mastery over the

forces of nature, bring added dangers in their train. The thirst for pleasure, avarice, the gambling spirit, the spirit of municipal pride and intrigue to which Ferrero traces the downfall of the Roman Republic; and the moral vices of luxury, frivolity, moral degradation, corruption of justice, the mixture of civic arrogance and civic indifference, the spirit of chicanery, the domination of a little minority of rich men, and the servility of the numerous poor, to which he attributes the poverty of Greece, are sure to arise when men think only of their own rights and their own comfort, and not of the rights of others. These vices are with us now as they were with the Greeks of the age of Pericles, the Romans of the later Republic, and the Italians of the renaissance. The parallel between the political situation and the economic conditions and the social wants of those times and of the present sometimes seems complete.

The story of the establishment of the power of the Medici in Florence, the Sforzas and Viscontis at Milan, the Caesars at Rome, is not so very different from the story of the rise of Tammany in New York, and of the numerous rings and factions which control our municipalities. Thoughtful men often wonder whether a like downfall of our social system will follow. It is in wealthy and prosperous societies under the forms of popular government that the religious spirit is most needed. The great work to be done is to enforce upon men a consideration of their duties as well as their rights, so that they may not think it sufficient to say, with the Epicurean, "Let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die," or with the Frenchman, "After us the deluge," but may consider others as well as themselves, the future as well as the present. Politics naturally deals with men's rights; religion naturally and properly deals with their duties, and the one ought to serve as a check upon the other. It is not enough to devise new legislation, new primary laws, new registration laws, new ballot laws. These may indeed prevent some of the more open and grosser forms of fraud, but legislative machinery alone will not bring about good government, unless the majority of the voters demand it; and if the majority really demand it, the lack of proper machinery may delay but cannot in the long run prevent the accomplishment of their wishes. Poli-

ticians are not so much leaders as led, and we see often enough how anxious they are to catch the popular breeze. Keeping your ear to the ground is a feat not unknown in our political history. It is far more important that the heart of the people should be right and under the control of a sensible head than that the machinery for the expression of the popular will should be perfect. Indeed the very perfection of political machinery involves the dangerous necessity of having skilled machinists to run it. A man ignorant of mechanics cannot be trusted with a modern locomotive or the great engines of the Mauretania. Perhaps I am treading on the hot ashes of political conflict, but is it too much to remind you that the direct primary although intended to facilitate the rule of the majority, depends for the successful accomplishment of that result upon the assumption that every citizen will take enough interest to vote and that his choice will be narrowed to one of two. If, however, every citizen does not choose to vote but only those vote who have a personal interest to serve, and if the choice is, as generally happens, a choice of several, is there not danger that the plurality will be on the side of the more thoroughly organized and better disciplined body of voters, who have a personal interest in the result and make a trade of politics. If the weapon is a good one, it helps only those who avail themselves of its aid.

Or take, if you please, the other popular suggestion of the day,—the recall. No doubt it is a great weapon in the hands of the public against an unfaithful servant. It is equally potent, however, to destroy the independence of a faithful official who is manfully withstanding in the interest of justice and right the popular clamor of the moment; and it is a weapon which may prove of great value also to powerful political organizations against a too independent and conscientious representative. Imagine Burke voting against the prevailing sentiment of Bristol or Senator Lamar defying the mandate of the Mississippi legislature, if the electors or the legislators had had the right of recall.

No doubt there are two sides to these questions. I can only guess in advance on which side the balance of advantage will lie. But I am quite sure that the success of any scheme in securing better government will depend upon the courage, virtue and patri-

otism of individual citizens. All the political machinery in the world will not supply the place of conscientious and intelligent conviction. Religion can supply not only the instruction but the stimulus. The idea is an old one. Let me quote from a recent book: "Savonarola taught his congregation that every vote entailed a solemn responsibility; a single bean wrongly given might prove the ruin of the state. The elector must have in view the glory of God, the welfare of the community, the honor of the state; he ought not to nominate a candidate from private motives, nor reject one who may have wronged him; a candidate should be both good and wise, but if the choice lie between a wise man and one who is good but foolish, the interest of the state requires the former; no man should be elected to an office by way of charity; his poverty must not be relieved to the detriment of the public service."

These are the thoughts of a contemporary of Columbus. They are applicable to the United States in the Twentieth Century.

The result of the earlier movements of which I have spoken, which found their happy culmination at the time our American governments were established, was to place in the Bills of Rights of our various States and the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution the great principles of religious freedom, political freedom, freedom of contract and the right of private property. To-day the great questions are the limitations to be imposed upon the rights of personal liberty, of freedom of contract, and of private property. No one questions that some limitations are proper. Many have already been sustained by the courts. The great danger is that in the struggle between the state and the individual we may forget the lessons of individual liberty, dearly bought as they were, and may yield too much to the strength of combinations, whether of labor or of capital, or may allow the seeming good of the state to crush the individual; the danger is especially great in a democratic form of government, where the majority rule and possess the tremendous influence of numbers. If the people are to rule righteously, the majority must possess the qualities of great rulers, courage, fortitude, self-sacrifice, loyalty, patience, persistence, devotion to a great cause, and recognition of the rights of all. "We must educate our rulers," said

Lord Sherbrooke, and we have undertaken the task on a tremendous scale. But education in itself may prove a bane rather than a blessing if it increases our wants without increasing our sense of obligation to do right. The great work to be done by religious people is to establish and insist upon the fundamental ethical basis of society, and to work out a proper idea of justice and liberty for all, so that the rich may be protected in the enjoyment of their property from envy and from spoliation, and the laborer may be protected from oppression whether of his employer or his fellows, and given as far as possible an opportunity to contract on terms of equality, without infringing the rights of other laborers. The difficulties are immense. The task is to determine what is fundamentally right not only for the advantage of the present generation but for human society in the long run, and having determined that to persuade men to act with the sense of responsibility properly expected from sovereign rulers, and not with a mere view to the material well being of the present moment.

Disheartened as we must sometimes be at the slow progress which is made, and at the corruption which undoubtedly exists, we need not lose hope. The really great causes have more than once been advanced even in ages of the greatest corruption, and by men whose personal characters were bad. Most of us would agree with Dr. Johnson's hostility to John Wilkes, and yet none of us would be inclined to deny that his services to the cause of political liberty were worthy of being commemorated in the name of a prosperous city of this commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The age which in England preceded the American Revolution was an age of the greatest corruption, having its source in the King himself, and yet it was an age of great progress for the English people, not only in the spread of English power but in the rise of a more wholesome public spirit. None of us can forget the more recent example of Mr. Gladstone, who began his public career with the defense of the corruption at the Liverpool election, and was enabled through a long life to accomplish more for good government, certainly than any other Englishman of his time. It is unnecessary for me to cite similar instances in our own history. Even during the Civil War, when men were actuated by high ideals to the risk and sacrifice of life, which brought about

the abolition of slavery and the establishment of the Union, corruption was rife; but the spirit of the people was sound. But a few men of high character, devoted to a noble purpose, cannot of themselves bring about or preserve a wholesome state of society. That can only be secured where the general average sense of public duty is high. This is the task which religion has set before it; it is here that it finds its best connection with politics, and it is in the possibility of the prevalence of a proper ethical spirit that the hope of a noble political future must finally rest. We need not, of course, despair in view of the past, but the task is the task of each individual, and if success is to be secured, it must be because each individual realizes that the well-being of his children's children depends not merely upon his own individual good, but the general good of all.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL SERVICE

SUMMARY OF ADDRESS BY ALEXANDER JOHNSON, OF FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

You have heard two or more definitions of the word Religion to-day. While we are of one mind on many points, yet I suppose it would be impossible to frame an adequate and satisfactory definition of Religion that we could, every one, honestly accept. At the least, however, religion is a force restraining and propulsive. It ties us back from evil; it impels us to action for good. And in an increasing degree, increasing almost everywhere and in some places with great rapidity, it brings us to the tasks of Social Service as the main, if not the only means of satisfying its insistent call to action.

The propulsive force of religion leads to acts of justice and mercy. Micah tells us so in his definition of what the Lord requires; James, the Apostle, defines pure religion in similar terms. But may we also claim that as religion demands social service for its satisfaction, so, social service needs religion for its sanction and impelling force? It seems so to me. I know of no worthy social service but has back of it the impelling power of a great, spiritual conviction, and though in some cases the workers ex-

pressly disclaim religion and say they labor purely for the love of men, or purely to gratify an inherent desire for social betterment, yet I find these, like Abou Ben Adhem, among the most religious. The farmer's wife who said "The world's a pretty rough place for lots of folk; it's not going to be rougher because of me," had the instinct of that social service which religion inspires.

With the advancing desire for service has come advancing socializing. Think for an instant of that most common form of service, the friendly help of the unfortunate. How easy this was to do well in the old simple, village days, how impossible to do it as individuals in our crowded cities. When every one knew every one else and all their affairs, when the need came every hand was open; when the need ceased, the hands closed. Here, in the city, we hardly know the names of neighbors in our own street; we have never seen the dwellers in the back streets and alleys. To help them we must socialize our efforts and create an organized force, or we shall surely do much more harm than good.

Still more necessary is socialized effort as we go further back than present suffering. We are weary of perpetually giving relief which has only a temporary effect, and creates the very demand which it satisfies. We ask ourselves what are the causes of these things; how can we remove them, and we find the causes that at first seemed chiefly individual are really further and further back, that they are largely social causes and can only be removed by social efforts. How little can you and I do to remove the horrors of the exploitation of childhood by greed of gain or selfishness of parents. I may resolve that my child shall not labor until he is strong enough. I may inquire as to which goods have been made under such evil conditions and refuse to buy them. But such scattering efforts would have an infinitesimal effect. We must join together, inspired by a common resolve and a burning enthusiasm for humanity, to redress the wrongs of little children. Similarly with the fight against preventable disease, that greatest of all causes of poverty. With the contest against the slums, the infinite source of woe and deg-

radation, the cause of more vice, misery, desertion, inefficiency than any other, if not all the others, what can you and I, as individuals, do? We have no tenements to rent at 20 per cent. profit, if left as they are, or 5 per cent. profit if made as they should be. We are not dodging our taxes, which if honestly paid and honestly used would abate the slums and give the poorest clean streets, good sewerage, pure and abundant water supply. For all these and many other social causes we must have united Social Service.

I have said Social Service requires a sanction and an imperative that can only come from a great spiritual conviction, something worthy of the high name of religion. Can we find such a principle of action which we may all apply to ourselves? Rather does such a principle find and compel us. I think there is such a one and that it unites within itself the highest truth of science and the highest verity of religion. I find it in the modern theory of the Social Organism, a theory which is growing in importance and in acceptance, which is proclaimed alike in church and class room, which at least one school of sociologists claim as one of the fundamental laws of their science.

What is this Body Politic of which each of us is a part? Is it merely an aggregation of units, gathered together by the hope of making a living, or a fortune, or by the accident of birth? Or is it merely an organization, composed of multitudes of parts that are not necessarily related to each other, although they act and react on one another? Neither conception seems adequate. Society, this great whole, is an Organism, one living being, composed of multitudinous self-conscious cells, yet every one related to every other by ties that cannot be sundered without pain and loss. St. Paul gave us the theory and although some bodies of religious people interpret his doctrine "Ye are all members of one body" in a narrow way, making it apply to the professed members of some little communion, yet that is not the true interpretation. We are all members of one body. The heart or the head or the hand cannot be sick of itself; the whole body is diseased. The fever from a wounded limb spreads to every part. So no cell in the great social organism can be distressed alone, no

poor lost creature can be sick or sorry, wronged or wretched, sinful or abused, but you and I to some extent are sick or sorry, wronged or wretched, sinful or abused.

Our loved and lamented leader in philanthropy in the Middle West, Oscar McCullough, used to say: "When any little child suffers or is in danger, my little child is not safe." I want to go a step further; I want us all to feel that "when any little child suffers or is wronged, *my* child suffers and is wronged. Every little child is my child, to help, to protect, to love."

It is this thought, this passionate claim of oneship with the social being that makes us think of the little boy picking slate on the breakers, or sitting in the dark mine, opening and shutting the air trap, of the little girl in the cotton mill, weary and sad, of the poor man dying of tuberculosis in the crowded tenement, of the underpaid, overworked laborer, of "the motherless girl whose fingers thin push from her faintly want and sin," of the mother with her baby tugging at her empty breast as she sits at the machine in the sweat shop.

Friends, these are all ours, a part of us. It is because we realize this truth that we are no longer content to live on our beautiful, well-paved avenues and leave the slums to rot. We don't so much want fine pictures and libraries in our homes as we want public art galleries and libraries for every boy and girl. We take our summer holiday, but we want the sick babies taken by our fresh air fund, and given pure milk by our milk commission.

Is this not a Religious Conviction, this theory of the Social Organism? Does it not prove itself religious by calling to us, to us the strong, the happy, the fortunate, to spend and be spent in the service of the less fortunate, our brothers and sisters? Is it not a corollary, rather a restatement, of the belief in the Brotherhood of man, which eventually leads us to the Fatherhood of God.

Friends, let us look at this heavenly vision and having once seen it, be like St. Paul, never more unmindful of it. Is the conception I have presented to you not worthy to be called the Heavenly Vision? Gaze upon it until its strength and beauty fill your souls with good will to men. Then shall there be peace on earth to men of good will.

This is my plea for Religion and Social Service and this is how I would define each in terms of the other.

RELIGION AND MODERN INDUSTRIALISM

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The subject of religion and modern industrialism suggests a discussion covering a wide range of economic, ethical, and moral thought. I take it for granted, however, that I am expected to review the subject from the standpoint of the organized workmen and to develop the theory that there is a common interest between religion and the ethics of the trade union movement. Acting on this hypothesis, I wish, at the outset, to lay down as fundamental the claim that a high religious and moral standard is not consistent with a low industrial ideal. The man who comes mentally and physically exhausted from ten or twelve hours of labor, who has worked in a badly ventilated mine or factory, or whose home is bare and cheerless because his low wages will not permit improvement, is much more apt than his fellow who has worked eight hours amidst healthful surroundings, to seek that stimulus and relaxation which is detrimental to his health and his morals. And in so far as the labor movement contributes to the physical, intellectual and moral development of the workman, it is going hand in hand with the church, which directs its energies toward the moral and spiritual uplift of the people. There can be no fundamental antagonism between religion and trade unionism. As a matter of fact, the great moral lessons taught by the founder of the Christian church find tangible expression in the principles and practices of the wisely governed modern labor organization.

It is, therefore, a regrettable fact that large numbers of workingmen have disconnected themselves from the churches. This action, however, regrettable as it may be, is not a protest against religion itself but is attributable to an impression that there is, on the part of many of our churches, an absence of sympathy with the ideals of the working people and with the movement through

which they are striving to ameliorate the conditions under which men live and work.

It is not my purpose to criticise the church because some of its representatives deride and denounce the ideals of the workingmen, just as the labor unions should not be criticised and denounced because of the occasional intemperate utterances or unwise actions of some of their leaders and adherents. My own observation and experience have satisfied me that an overwhelming majority of the representatives of all denominations are thoroughly in sympathy with the struggles of the workmen to secure higher and better standards of life and labor. But I am going to take the liberty of suggesting that in carrying forward the command of the Saviour—"Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," it would be of immeasurable advantage both to the church and to the industrial forces if the workingmen themselves and the philosophy, the purpose, and the ideals of their movement were better understood.

The wage earners are not the irrational, irreligious, and destructive factors in our social life that their critics and opponents represent them to be. It is the failure to appreciate their real character and the philosophy of their movement that has given wide circulation to erroneous impressions concerning them.

To understand this philosophy, the ideals and the purpose of the trade union movement, it is necessary that we keep in mind the history of industrial development; that we have a clear comprehension of the complex problems that characterise modern industrial life; that we realize the fact that the purpose of the trade union movement is not so much to secure the advancement of the exceptional workman as it is to bring about the general and gradual uplift of the great mass of the wage earners; and to understand the actions of the organized workmen it is necessary to consider the evils which the trade unions, by such actions, seek to eradicate.

In ancient and mediaeval times the struggle for existence centered in the problem of production; the question of distribution was not a great factor in determining the health or wealth or happiness of the human race. It was not until the invention of machinery and the advent of the factory system, it was not until

society was organized, as it is to-day, on the basis of a minute and complicated division of labor and an extended change and interchange of commodities, that the question of distribution became the problem the solution of which has taxed the ingenuity of the world's economists and statesmen.

No one can understand the true nature of trade unionism unless he understands the industrial revolution and what it accomplished. The history of mankind has been more vitally affected by changes in its machines and in its methods of doing business than by any action or council of statesmen or philosophers. What we call the modern world, with its huge populations, its giant cities, its political democracy, its growing intensity of life, its contrasts of wealth and poverty — this great, whirling, restless civilization with all its vexing problems — is the offspring largely of changed conditions of producing wealth.

Trade unionism starts from a recognition of the fact that under present industrial conditions the individual, unorganized workman cannot bargain advantageously with the employer for the sale of his labor. Since the workingman has no money in reserve and must sell his labor immediately; since he has no knowledge of the market and no skill in bargaining; because he has only his own labor to sell while the employer engages hundreds or thousands of men and can easily do without the services of any particular individual, the workingman, if bargaining on his own account and for himself alone, is at a very great disadvantage. In the individual contract between a powerful employer and a single workman the laborer will secure the worst of it; such a contract usually means that the condition of the poorest and lowest man in the industry will be that which the average man must accept. It was to find a substitute for the individual bargain, which militates against the welfare and happiness of the whole working people, that trade unions were formed.

It is frequently charged against the union that in policy and practice it reduces to a dead level all the men employed in a given trade; that the most efficient and the most ambitious are reduced to the level of the incompetent and the sluggard. This charge is a libel and a pretense. The trade union fixes a minimum, not a maximum wage, and the employer is at perfect liberty

to reward the especially efficient or ambitious workman by paying him higher wages than are fixed by the union. The union does object, however, to one workman being rewarded by an employer when the reward is extracted from the pay envelope of another workman. As a matter of fact, the employers usually fix a maximum wage at the same point at which the union fixes the minimum wage; and what is true of wages is also true of hours of labor and other conditions of employment.

In the course of an address delivered before the National Civic Federation, Mr. Taft, then President-elect, stated: "Time was when everybody who employed labor was opposed to the labor union; when it was regarded as a menace. That time, I am glad to say, has largely passed away, and the man to-day who objects to the organization of labor should be relegated to the last century. It has done marvels for labor and will doubtless do more: it will, I doubt not, avoid the reduction to a dead level of all workingmen."

Trade unionism does not stand for paternalism but for a broad, all-inclusive fraternalism; it does not stand for the "loyalty" of the workman to his employer but for a fair, reciprocal contract between these two parties. It does not stand for the recognition of a difference in species between employer and workman but it insists upon the substantial equality of all men and for the right of the workers to secure all they can consistent with trade conditions. Finally, it does not accept the doctrine of the employer who in giving work to a man assumes that he is conferring a benefit upon him, any more than it stands for the opposite doctrine that the acceptance of work confers a favor upon the employer. The ideal of trade unionism is that of two separate, strong, self-respecting and mutually respecting parties freely contracting with each other, with no limitation upon the right of perfect and absolute freedom of contract save that which a community, in its wisdom, may determine to be necessary for its own protection.

Through his trade union the workingman is striving to secure:

First: A minimum wage which will enable men and women to live in a manner conformable to American standards, to educate their children, and to make adequate provision against sickness and old age;

Second: The eight hour workday, which will give him opportunity for the cultivation of home life, the enjoyment of books, music, and wisely employed leisure;

Third: Legislation making it unlawful for children of tender years and frail physique to be employed in gainful pursuits;

Fourth: Laws providing for the safe-guarding of the lives and limbs of workers engaged in dangerous occupations and for compensation for loss sustained through injuries suffered in the course of employment;

Fifth: The progressive improvement of the sanitary, working, and housing conditions of the wage earners; and

Sixth: The preservation of the constitutional guarantee of free speech, a free press, and trial by jury.

I shall not consume your time by a lengthy discussion of the material advancement of the workingman which has been secured through the activities of the trade union, although this very material gain has been a contributing factor in his physical, intellectual, and moral development.

Those who look only at the surface of things and judge trade unionism by an occasional glimpse are likely to fail to appreciate the uplifting influence of this institution upon the character of the wage earner. Many who admit that trade unions have been successful in raising wages, shortening hours, and improving the material conditions of the worker's life, still believe that their effect upon his intellectual and moral tone has been either bad or entirely negative. To all, however, who do not view these matters superficially, it must be evident that trade unionism has had exactly the opposite effect. Workmen who formerly went from their twelve hours of labor to the nearest saloon now spend their time with their families, improving their minds or enjoying a sensible and sane recreation. In most instances increased wages and shorter hours have meant the education and gratification of the intellectual and artistic sense of the workers; have meant books and pictures; have meant a few additional rooms in the house and more decent surroundings generally; have meant a few years' extra schooling for the children; have meant, finally, a general uplifting of the whole working class. Trade unionism has benefitted the worker by the emphasis which it has laid upon the wel-

fare of the workingman. Too often the employer has been interested chiefly in the amount of production; he has forgotten the producer in the goods produced. Trade unionists, on the other hand, have thrown the emphasis not on the goods but on the man by whom they are produced. It is no longer the machine but the man at the machine that is taking "the center of the stage" in economic thought.

The trade union distinctly raises the moral tone of the workers by infusing into them a sense of the dignity of labor. There is much lip service paid to the ennobling effect of labor and to the dignity which it confers upon the workman, but it is the trade union and the trade union alone which translates these mere professions into actual deeds. The unionists feel that it is not the work itself but the spirit in which the work is accepted and performed that ennobles the worker. The unionist does not believe that man was put upon this earth for no better purpose than ceaselessly to push a piece of wire through a little hole or endlessly to repeat the same simple, uniform operation. He believes, on the contrary, that man should be relieved as far as possible from work partaking of the character of drudgery, but that necessary work should be performed unhesitatingly, uncomplainingly, and conscientiously.

If trade unionism has rendered no other service to humanity, it would have justified its existence by its efforts in behalf of working women and children. Unfortunately, society does not seem to feel itself capable of conducting its industries without the aid of its weaker members. With each advance in production, with each increase in wealth and the capacity of producing wealth, women and children in ever larger numbers, are drawn into the industrial vortex. The home, the natural and moral sphere of the woman, has been shattered by the invasion of the machine and the factory system. Through constant association with it we have become hardened to the degrading and humiliating truth that in our society, as at present constituted, hundreds of thousands if not millions of women and girls, depending entirely upon their own resources, are compelled to work unduly long hours and for beggarly wages. The trade union seeks to protect the woman morally, physically, and industrially. It demands that she shall

not be employed amidst surroundings that are destructive of her moral and physical health; it demands that she shall not be employed at night work or for excessively long hours; it demands and insists that women shall receive equal pay with men for equal work. In demanding equal pay and healthful surroundings for women, the union not only protects the woman and the home but it protects, also, the standard of living of all wage earners.

Even more important than the benefits conferred by trade unionism upon women workers have been its efforts in behalf of the toiling children. It is hard to reconcile the humanity and vaunted intelligence of this era with the wholesale employment of children in industry. Childhood should be a period of growth and education; it should be the stage in which the man is trained for future effort and future work. With each advance in civilization, with each improvement of mankind, the period of childhood should be extended, in order that the men and women of the next generation may be mature and developed. In the factory the spring of the child's life snaps and its spirit is completely broken. The outlook upon life of a child emerging illiterate and listless from five or six years of work at deadening and monotonous labor is not at all encouraging, and it is not to be wondered at that many children from such a task develop into tramps and criminals.

Apart from the particular and special evils of the system as it exists to-day, the policy of extracting work from children and exploiting their slow-growing strength is vicious and self-destructive. A state of society might be conceived in which poverty was so general that even the little children would needs be drafted into the industrial army in order to produce enough to enable society to eke out its existence, but in a nation which has its millionaires — almost its billionaires — in a society in which production is so far in excess of consumption that thousands of strong men can find no work to do and in which we are building up a permanent army of unemployed, it but emphasizes the evil of a system which permits the exploitation and degradation of children.

It seems almost an absurdity, a reflection upon our intelligence, that women and children are compelled to work while strong men

chafe in idleness. Thousands and thousands of men who tramp about the country and live off society instead of living for it are products of a system of unregulated child labor.

In their efforts to protect the woman and the child the trade unions have been assisted by the best men and women from every walk of life, and in these efforts they are entitled to expect and to receive the active support of the church; for surely there can be no more holy and righteous duty than to protect and preserve the womanhood and the childhood of the nation.

A further evil of modern industrialism which cries aloud for correction is the insecurity of the worker's hold upon existence. It is a strange commentary upon our boasted American civilization that more men are killed and injured in industry in the United States than in any other country in the world. It is not my purpose to decry the institutions of my own country, because I believe that with all our failings, with all our sins of omission and commission, we have by far the best and greatest government ever instituted among men; but I cannot blind myself to the fact that in the matter of providing protection for the life and the safety of the workman and compensating him for the injuries sustained in the course of his employment, we are lagging far behind the nations of the Old World.

In a letter to the Exposition of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene held under the auspices of the American Institute of Social Service, Mr. Roosevelt, then President, expressed thus his views upon this subject:

"As modern civilization is constantly creating artificial dangers of life, limb, and health, it is imperative upon us to provide new safeguards against the new perils. In legislation and in our use of safety devices for the protection of workmen we are far behind European peoples, and in consequence, in the United States, the casualties attendant upon peaceful industries exceed those which would happen under great perpetual war. Many, even most, of these casualties are preventable, and it is not supportable that we should continue a policy under which life and limb are sacrificed because it is supposed to be cheaper to maim and kill men than to protect them."

In the matter of the health and safety of the workman society

has not yet learned its full lesson. There was a time when the criminal law was a matter of private settlement and a man could relieve himself of responsibility for the murder of his neighbor by making a "blood payment" of so much money to the kinsmen of the murdered man. Our attitude toward preventable accidents is still much the same. If the employer pays a ludicrously inadequate sum to his injured employee or to the widow of a workman who has been killed, society assumes that he has performed his full duty and that his concern in the incident has ceased. As a matter of fact, many large employers relieve themselves of financial responsibility for the death or injury of their workmen by a system of insurance in employers' liability companies. In consideration of the payment of a small fee for each person employed, these companies guarantee to defend in the courts all suits instituted for damages and to pay to the plaintiffs in such suits any judgment which may be rendered against the employer. Because of this protection it is frequently less expensive to kill or maim a workman than to provide adequate safeguards against his injury.

If the elimination of the evils that have grown up under modern industrialism, and the consummation of the purposes and ideals to which I have referred would make for the physical, intellectual, and moral uplift of the workingman, and the improvement of society, then the legitimate means by which they are achieved would be a contributing factor in his advancement; and the church, in its effort to broaden and enrich the moral and spiritual life of the people should lend its voice and its support in bringing to full fruition these high purposes and lofty ideals.

I have no hesitancy in saying that the literal application of the Golden Rule would do more to establish righteous industrial and social relations than would the application of any other principle or precept that could be conceived by the human mind.

It is gratifying to note instances which indicate a growing interest in the labor movement on the part of the representatives of the church. Within recent years some of the great religious organizations have established departments and appointed commissioners to study the needs of the workingmen, and in many of our large cities the local churches have selected ministers who

sit as fraternal delegates in the Central Labor Unions and in that capacity are permitted and invited to discuss the problems of labor. By such action a closer and more sympathetic relationship is being established between the church and the organizations of labor. This development argues well for the future. It is, according to some authorities, a return to the attitude of reciprocal interest between the church and the labor movement which existed at the beginning of the Christian era, when, it is claimed, the apostles were actively identified with the ancient guilds — the precursors, in some measure, of the modern trade union.

In the pursuit of its ideals trade unionism has justified its existence by good works and high purposes. At one time viewed with suspicion by workman and employer alike, it has gained the affection of one and the enlightened esteem of the other. Slowly and gradually it has progressed toward the fulfillment of its ideals. It has elevated the standard of living of the American workman and secured for him higher wages and more leisure; it has increased efficiency, diminished accidents, averted disease, kept the children at school, raised the moral tone of the factory, and improved the relations between employer and employed. In doing so it has stood upon the broad ground of justice and humanity. It has defended the weak against the strong, the exploited against the exploiter; has stood for efficiency rather than cheapness, for the producer rather than production; for the man rather than the dollar. It has voiced the claims of the unborn as of the living, and has stayed the hand of that ruthless, near-sighted profit-seeking which would destroy future generations as men wantonly cut down forests. It has aided and educated the newly arrived immigrant, protected the toil of women and children, and fought the battles of the poor in attic, mine, and sweatshop. It has stood for self-respect, for decency, and for dignity; it has stood for education, for religion, and for morality. It has broken down the religious bigotries and racial antagonisms which in former times arrayed man against man, group against group, and nation against nation, and has united in a common bond of fellowship the men and women from every quarter of the earth. It has conferred benefits, made sacrifices, and, un-

fortunately, committed errors. I do not conceal from myself that trade unionism has made its mistakes. No institution fully attains its ideal, and men stumble and fall in their upward striving.

Said that great, humane philosopher, Thomas Carlyle: "This that they call the organization of labour is the universal vital problem of the world."

I feel that it is entirely within the range of possibility that in the not distant future the church will become so thoroughly in sympathy with the ideals and the philosophy of trade unionism that its ministers will be proud to defend and advocate the cause and the principles of the labor union.

Fifth Topic of the Congress,

"RELIGION AND CURRENT REFORMS."

THE DUTY OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS TOWARDS THE PEACE MOVEMENT

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In the olden days of chivalry, a noble family took for its device the simple words, *Noblesse oblige*. In our English tongue we interpret this to mean that noble birth or rank compels to noble deeds. So full of high incentive was this pithy motto, that it became the watch-word of noble men and women in every land. I would fain apply it to-day to this Federation of Religious Liberals, in regard to the Peace Movement of our time.

For if Religion be "the doing of the Word, and not the hearing of it only," and if the Liberal be "he who looketh into the perfect law, the law of liberty, and so continueth," then are Religious Liberals *doubly* dedicated to the service of the Peace Movement which has arisen so gloriously with the advent of this Twentieth Century.

During centuries of human history, inhuman and incessant warfare laid its devastating hand upon human lives and upon the fruits of human toil, playing that role in the history of the world which appalling earthquakes play in the history of the earth. But wars have become less frequent in our later centuries, and those which have occurred may be likened to the recurring but subsiding tremors of some great natural convulsion. Fortunately for mankind, wars are unlike earthquakes in that they may be prevented. It seems inevitable that men must look forward with what equanimity they may to the destruction of San Franciscos or Messinas in the future; but, thank God, the human earthquake of warfare can and shall be prevented. And in this holy warfare against war, Religious Liberals have a plain duty to perform.

When the mediaeval Church placed itself at the head of the

Crusades, a cry went up from Christendom, "To Jerusalem, to Jerusalem! God wills it!" The enlightened consciences of men in our day have recognized this old battlecry to have been no whit less foolish and pernicious than all the others uttered in the names of the various gods of battle. But with the passing of this and of many another wild and wicked illusion, the faith of men still remains strong that there is a *genuine* holy warfare to be waged on earth in which they in their religious capacity — their churches militant — must enlist. As standard-bearers on *such* fields of battle, the world has a right to look to Religious Liberals; and as standard-bearers in the great Peace Movement of our day, these must perform a two-fold task.

I have compared the warfare of our time to the subsiding tremors of the military earthquakes which harassed the mediaeval world; they are, properly speaking, reversions to the savagery of primitive man, or evidences of the social atavism which is not yet stamped out. Religious Liberals must see to it, in the first place, then, that this atavism is stamped out.

Again, men groping slowly through centuries of muddied and sluggish thinking in regard to international relations have caught a vision of the light of truth and have begun to devise and establish means for settling their differences in a rational and peaceful way. Religious Liberals must see to it, then, in the second place, that this light of truth shall shine ever more bright and brighter and that it shall speedily prevail over the ignorance and sin which have darkened international dealings in the past.

Let us examine a little more closely this two-fold task. In their struggle against reversion to savagery, Religious Liberals must insist that men shall deal honestly with their intellects and consciences, and interpret the great Mosaic injunction, Thou shalt not kill, to mean uncompromisingly and inevasively that men must not take the lives of their fellow men under any pretext whatsoever. Besides that natural instinct of the brutes which forbids them to seek by organized means to kill their own kind, there must be sounded in the hearts of men the solemn and insistent command of reason and morality: Thou, individually *or* collectively, shalt not kill thy kind. The torch which shone from Sinai's mount so many centuries ago must be kept steadily

burning and flashed from land to land and from soul to soul, if civilization is to be kept from the abyss of savagery out of which it has so painfully climbed. Be it the task of Religious Liberals to prevent that torch from becoming dimmed by the sophistry which denies that killing is murder provided it be done on a large enough scale and by organized, state-sanctioned means. Be it the task of Religious Liberals to prevent that torch from becoming quenched in the casuistry which pretends that the killing of men is justifiable because of the end which is sought. Let Religion reject the so-called justice which is pedestaled upon the physical and moral victims of warfare. Let Liberals, convinced that even "to further Heaven's ends they dare not break Heaven's laws," deny the name of Liberty to that license which destroys human lives and causes untold human misery, even though material prosperity or even moral progress may follow in its train. Let them say to governments whose function it is to administer *law,* ye shall not divest yourselves of law beyond the territorial limits of your states and resort for the accomplishment of your purposes to violence and force. Let them say to the nations who demand great armies, They that take the sword shall perish by the sword. Let them say to the peoples who demand great and ever growing navies, pleading that their warlike preparations are inspired solely by a love of peace: Ye cannot serve *both* the God of Warfare and the Prince of Peace; for either you will hate the one and love the other, or else you will hold to the one and despise the other. Let them say to the false prophets who teach that if men desire peace they must prepare for war: Ye cannot gather figs from thorns nor grapes from thistles; and if ye sow the wind, ye shall reap the whirlwind.

Above all, in this path of their duty, Religious Liberals must see to it that their *churches* are cleansed of the abominations of the dogs of war. There must be no Christianized Woden or Judaized Moloch in the sanctum sanctorum of church or temple. There must be no service of song or prayer or penance designed to procure from the Father of All Mankind a victory on the field of battle for *some* of His children and death and defeat for *others* of them. No minister of God who professes to be about his Father's business, must bless the martial banners

of opposing hosts, or send out Cains from God's holy altars to slay their brother Abels. The missionaries whom they send to foreign lands must be taught that it is not to their country's warships cruising off the heathen's coast that they must look for their strength and their protection. The heathen who are sought to be converted to a better mode of life must not receive a Bible from one hand and the menace of a sword from the other. To Religious Liberals, if to any one on God's earth, should be confidently entrusted the duty of putting an end forever to the last vestiges of that old method of conversion illustrated by Charles the Great when he drove the Saxon heathens by the thousands, at the edge of the sword, into the baptismal waters. By Religious Liberals, if by any one, must the missionary enterprise of the future be inspired solely by the fearlessness of bodily death, by the forgiveness of persecutors ("not knowing what they do"), and by the entire rejection of any aid dependent upon the threat or the reality of physical force.

There was a time, very recent in our country's history, when sections of the church defended, condoned, or bewailed the necessity of, the institution of human slavery. To-day, there are sections of the church which defend, condone, or bewail the necessity of, human warfare. The call has come clear and clearer to Religious Liberals, in whatever section of the church they may worship, to denounce uncompromisingly the institution of human warfare; to brush aside the shams and sophistries which seek to hide in flaunting or flimsy phrase the whole dark butchery of war; and to bid men divest their souls of fancied fears which make them hug the iron chains of warlike preparations. It is one high mission of Religion to lead men to face with confidence serene that Valley of the Shadow of Death into which every mortal must some time pass; let it be the Religious Liberals' task to bid the nations pursue their paths through life serene and calm, refusing to be terrorized by fear of the subjunctive; refusing to replace the rational and manly motto of Dread Nothing by the hysterical one of Dreadnoughts, which means in reality Dread Everything; refusing to die a thousand deaths in fearing one; refusing to create an atmosphere of suspicion towards this or that other nation; refusing to forge for themselves the chains of their

own slavery; refusing to place a burden on their backs which shall bow them to the earth and shut out from their vision not only the truth of heaven but also the truth about their fellow men.

Let it be the Religious Liberals' second duty as standard bearers in the Cause of Peace, to lead men's minds away from warlike, brutal and foolish means of settling international disputes, and towards the discovery and adoption of peaceful, rational and Twentieth Century means. Throughout the gloom of centuries of warfare, the advocates of peace have toiled faithfully but too often half-despairingly onward towards some far off imagined day when law should take the place of violence in international affairs, and heroic souls have cheered each other by the cry, "There must be refuge! What good gift have our brothers, but it came through toil and strife and loving sacrifice?" To *our* eyes, in the dawn of this Twentieth Century, has come the clear vision of that refuge. We have seen the nations twice assembled in conference at The Hague; we have seen them acknowledging in word and deed the fact that they are one single family, each member possessing inalienable rights and bounden duties; we have seen them adopting great codes of law which shall throw the mantle of scientific aid and of human charity over the brutalities of war, and shall restrict the devastations of warfare on land and sea to narrow channels, protecting from its havoc, as far as may be, the great world of peaceful industry and progress. We have seen the corner-stone laid at The Hague of a beautiful Palace of Peace, which is to afford a home to institutions for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, which have already been put into beneficent activity; for here will be housed the international commissions of inquiry, the Permanent Court of Arbitration, with its arbitral tribunals, Permanent Bureau and Administrative Council, the International Prize Court and the Court of Arbitral Justice,— all of which have been adopted or provided for by the two Hague Conferences, and some of which have already been put into beneficent activity.

Laying up all these things in our hearts, remembering them faithfully and hopefully, and praying God to be with us still,

lest we forget them, let it be our high privilege and bounden duty as Religious Liberals to emphasize in the midst of war's alarums the great fact that there are available and mandatory these peaceful and honorable means both of settling quarrels and of procuring justice; let us exalt these means above warfare or preparations for warfare, as high as light is above darkness, as heaven is above hell; let our voices in clarion tones ring out above the fears and clamor of the thoughtless or the ambitious the insistent cry, "To The Hague, To The Hague! God wills it!" Let them suffer no sophistries as to righteousness and honor being preferable to peace; but, backed by God's word and human experience, let them proclaim that peace *is* righteousness, that peace *and* honor are now and forever *one* and inseparable.

THE DUTY OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS TOWARDS MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

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The title indicates that the approach of religious liberals to the problems of marriage and divorce may be distinctive; in some respects unlike the approach of religious persons not "liberal." The term liberal is indefinitely suggestive of an attitude of mind freed from bondage to tradition and open to acceptance of logical inference from ascertained facts: and it is becoming associated with a tendency toward that scientific inquiry and that fearless use of the material of knowledge in the area of human experience, which is called radical." Hence, altho all "liberals" may not be radical in the strict sense of that word, liberality of mind and of temperament lead easily toward acceptance of the radical method in the solutions of problems philosophical, social or personal. The term "religious" has but one root meaning that of loyalty to the sanctities of life; of reverent regard for those inner ties which bind the spirit of man to its ideals, however those ideals may be defined. Therefore religious liberals may be assumed to hold the spiritual interests of the family paramount to all merely superficial considerations of personal wish or social convenience, however they may emancipate themselves from the letter of ancient laws and custom.

What then is the consistent ethical and helpful attitude of religious liberals toward the problems of marriage and divorce?

The serious student of " the social mechanism which constitutes the social order " must approach problems of life and conduct in the modern world in the spirit of scientific inquiry and with avoidance of dogmatic theorizing, depending for solution of the most difficult of those problems upon the testimony of human experience as that is interpreted by trained intelligence and disciplined judgment. It is in that spirit that the problems of marriage and divorce are approached in this paper, and certain basic considerations are summarized at the outset as follows:

First, Marriage is a social institution, with a natural history of development, to be studied, therefore, as all other social institutions should be studied, for actual testimony of human experience concerning what may be decided upon as right, wise and socially desirable under present conditions. " Marriage," says Westermarck: " is a product of social experience." It has assumed one form or another as varying social needs have seemed to demand; it has been changed from one form to another as other social changes have seemed to require.

Second, it is generally conceded that the family is the most vital and fundamental institution in society. It is, as Dr. Small well says, " the agency by which the individual is socialized," the innermost social group by means of which individuals learn how to live together in a social world. It is the focal center of those elements of constancy and of progress in human experience the action and interaction of which secure the spiritual evolution of the race.

Third, the family in some form is now accepted as the primitive social group, the nursery and kindergarten of the race in its discipline toward coöperative action. We must remember in this connection that, as Staarcke says: " Marriage is rooted in the family, not the family in marriage." That is to say, the human race did not first build up the union of the sexes upon an increasingly higher plane, and then, as a secondary process, build up the family group of parents, children, brothers, sisters, grandparents, etc.; on the contrary, humanity developed the family group as its first attempt at social order, and then fixed its ideals, customs and laws of marriage according to the varying requirements of family life.

Fourth, the union of the sexes and the initial family tendencies have a biological as well as a sociological background, proving that nature has ordained their strength by the depth of their foundation in the life-processes. "Marriage," says Howard, "does not belong exclusively to our species." We reach in beasts and in birds conjugal affection of a high order, and also, in some degree, that perpetuation of the conjugal relation for the benefit of offspring which is the most substantial and enduring bond of the human family.

Fifth, we now see that the development of the family has not been in straight lines of evolutionary sequence, each culture-stage exactly corresponding in its domestic relationships to an appropriate general social order. Varying pressure of economic, political, religious and social influences have produced variations and reactionary conditions in marriage, child-care and other domestic concerns. This makes a special study of the institution of the family, apart from, while connected with, all other social institutions, necessary to a clear understanding of the historic background for modern analysis. In general however, we find "the horde or mother-right" the chief if not the universal primitive form of the family. As Lippert says: "The mother and child were the simplest elements of the oldest organization of society." It is to be noted, however, that what has been called the "Matriarchate" is not the feminine parallel of the "Patriarchate." The mother-right was not that of a personal despot like the Roman father; the mother-right was social, a definite expression of tribal unity through blood relationship, as expressed in the vast and widely diffused system of the "totem." No doubt the simple, obvious bond of blood first "set the mold" of family allegiance. The more abstract conception of relationship which founded the patriarchal family, that which, as Æschylus makes Apollo say, "established the male as the generative source of offspring," led to the headship of the chief father over the collective family group and paved the way for an imperial state of masculine rule. The later ideal conception of dual parenthood, with reciprocal rights and obligations between the married pair, and of both in respect to their common children, has been long struggling, under different types of the family order, for a more intelligent and complete recognition.

Accepting these general outlines of past development, we see clearly that we are to-day inheritors of all the ideals, customs and laws which have outlined the experience of the race in respect to family life. We find imbedded in our modern laws traces of the most ancient sanctions and prohibitions concerning marriage, divorce and the care of children. We find in the persisting statutes defining "lines of consanguinity" and of "racial intermingling" beyond which no man or woman can go in contracting legal marriage, the residuum of the "totem" and other prescriptions so early established by rigid custom. We find in the male headship of the family (so strongly intrenched in law that in less than twenty of the commonwealths of the United States is a mother's equal control of the children even now assured) a clear repetition of the patriarchal ideals of the family which for so long placed not only the children but the wife under the absolute power of the father.

Again, we have in connection with our marriage services, lay and clerical, remnants of "wife sale," a custom nearly universal in some culture-stages of the race. "Who giveth this woman to wife" and "With all my wordly goods I thee endow" echo the changes from the payment of money for the bride from the groom to the father, to the payment by the groom to the bride of a sum which, although he could use its income freely, he must preserve in principal as a "dower" (a species of widow and old-age insurance), and which, when divorce began to be allowed the wife, might be ordered returned to her by the court as a protection against poverty. In other portions of modern marriage services we find traces of the opposite stage in marriage custom — that in which the bridegroom was paid for marrying the woman instead of paying for the privilege, the "marriage portions" settled upon American girls who marry foreign noblemen being a picturesque example of this survival.

In many forms of marriage service in our modern composite society we have a clear and definite survival of the Roman patrician ideal of marriage as a sacrament of religion, in which the sole basis of descent of name and property and sole symbol of family autonomy, is an indissoluble bond of wedded allegiance. Latin Christianity, which preserved this patrician ideal of indissoluble

marriage and reconsecrated it in the name of the Christian church, now upholds it as the only true ideal for its obedient followers. We have, on the other hand, many reminders at the present day of that opposite type of marriage ideal and ceremony, that which was "bred in the bone" of all peoples of Teutonic stock; namely, the ideal of marriage as a "private contract," a purely "family concern." This Germanic ideal expressed itself in two rituals; the first, the legal contract which alone gave validity to the union, the "Be-wedding," or betrothal, in which the father or guardian or several kinsmen of the bride safeguarded her interests financially and otherwise, especially when the groom was to take her "into another Thane's land"; and the second, the "Gifta," or nuptials, in which the ritual expressed the more spiritual element of the union. When in Germanic civilization the daughter acquired a veto power respecting her father's choice of her husband, and later even a chance for self-choice, the sentiments of the "Gifta" expressed this change, and the ritual could be led by either the father, a chosen guardian or an "orator" selected for his ability to lead the responses with distinction; but in any case the important words must be said by the man and woman concerned most vitally in the transaction, and by both in exactly the same formula. The responses of the English church service, the simple formula of the Friends and many other elements of modern marriage forms are reminders of the old Teutonic "Be-wedding" and "Gifta" now consolidated into one ritual.

The childishly romantic "elopements" of the present day hark back still further in primitive instinct to the ages of wife-capture or to the "rescue of the fairy princess" of the days of chivalry, and are evidences of an ever-recurring revolt against the ideal of social obligation in marriage which, under every form of social order, has appeared as the expression of an extreme individualism.

Rooted deeply in our religious inheritance is the noble Jewish ideal of marriage as a holy estate, to be honored above all other forms of human relationship. This ideal has survived the attacks of the asceticism of early Christianity and emerged without a permanent smirch from the era in which, as one of the fathers of the church said: "All those are urged to marry, and those alone,

who are unable to bear the superior state of virginity and are not restrained therefrom by solemn vows."

We have clear evidence of the antiquity of state control over marriage in the requirement, almost universal in modern society, to secure a "license to wed" and the issuance of a certificate referring to the legal quality of the act of marriage. We have not kept the clear, simple and positive affirmation of the sovereignty of the state in domestic concerns which was established by early forms of Protestant Christian civilization; and we have not yet achieved in a uniform marriage law anything so progressive and socially unifying as that which the genius of Cromwell gave to the brief reign of the English Commonwealth. The early settlers of America, however, preserved clear traces of this statesmanlike statute in the requirement that a magistrate of the state should alone have power to legalize marriages, they being so jealous of the prerogatives of the civil government in this particular that they would not allow a minister to "preach a sermon" on the occasion of a "great marriage," lest he detract from the civil dignity, although he might be "present and make a short exhortation." We have not kept the exclusive magisterial function in the marriage ceremony, but we do require that the minister shall recognize his power to legalize the union of a man and a woman as a *delegated* one, and to say "by the power vested in me by the State I pronounce you husband and wife."

In retaining the Germanic ideals of the private nature of marriage and the sovereignty of personal choice in wedlock, we have yet not lost sight of the primitive function of the family as the seed-plot of civic institutions. Martin Luther said of marriage: "It is the source of domestic and public government, the foundation of human society, without which it would fall to pieces." This view has been built into our own social ideals and customs; but we have added a far more tender consideration for the needs and wishes of each member of the family than has been shown in any previous social order, and we are more jealous of the rights of each individual as a unit of society than of the strict autonomy of the family group. This consideration for the individual is giving us greater freedom within the family, and greater ease of separation from the family for those desiring social rearrangement.

The physiology of the family is far more important, be it remembered, as an object of study than is the pathology of marriage. Even in acute social disease the attention should not be concentrated upon symptoms of disorder, but constantly fixed upon standards of social health. We need give, therefore, but a few words to the summing up the course of historic evolution in the matter of separation and divorce of married couples.

In some forms of primitive society divorce was easy for the man, impossible for the woman; in some, easy for both; in others, possible for neither. In the patriarchal family of legal headship vested in the father, divorce could not terminate the religious marriage, but there were ways by which the husband could be relieved of conditions which proved intolerable to him. In most forms of social order, domestic conditions, religious ideals and economic restrictions have united to make it difficult, when not impossible, for women to escape from matrimonial bonds found irksome; and in most forms of social order arrangements have been made to relieve men, either legally or by social permission, from the effects of a serious mistake in marriage. Of late we have grown more tolerant of divorce. Women have gained power to manage their own lives outside the marriage bond, which enables them to seek divorce at will; and we are witnessing an increase in domestic changes which to many seems socially dangerous. On the other hand there is a growing feeling that the spirit rather than the letter of the marriage vows should be conserved, and although all do not agree with Milton that " divorce is equitable," few are sure that legal dissolutions are always wrong.

From this tangled mass of tradition and custom, from many periods of confusing inconsistency between ideals and practice, we have come to our modern problems of marriage and divorce. We are now imperatively called upon to evolve a definite, conscious, ethical ideal of the family suited to our present conditions in respect to all other social relations: an ideal which shall guide us in making our laws in the United States more intelligible, more consistent, more uniform, and which shall aid in making our family life more effective for social ends. We have now, as a means to this end, to study, in a freer state than has before been known, the fruits of this mingled social inheritance in the family order;

to preserve such elements of past laws and conditions as suit our present needs, to reject all legal enactments and traditional customs which are outgrown or socially obstructive, and to adopt a radically constructive attitude toward the most vital of all human institutions. The standard which must guide us in this process of utilizing past experience for the benefit of present and future life is the same standard we have to apply to all social institutions; namely, the standard of social serviceableness, in the high sense of that which is conducive to the spiritual evolution of the race. In applying that standard we must ask first, What are the objects of the family? and second, How may those objects be obtained in modern social conditions?

The first object of the family is the protection, nurture and development of child life, the process which insures the continuance and the improvement of the race.

The second object of the family is the external but necessary arrangement by which matters of name, descent, the holding and transfer of property, and the economic support of dependent persons are held in the autonomy of a well-knit group, in the midst of a larger social organization less concerned with the welfare of the "solitary set in families."

The third object of the family is the moral discipline of its members, by means of the closest and most affectional of ties, in the direction of coöperative capacity as members of the state and of society at large.

The fourth object of the family, and the most modern one, is the development of a free, self-disciplined personality in its members, as a needed preparation for the rapidly increasing democracy of the modern social order. This last and most modern demand upon the family places upon all ethical leaders of the present time a peculiar task of attempted reincarnation of old sanctions for conduct in new forms suited to the new educational, industrial and political conditions.

How may we work toward these objects of the family if we accept them as vital and to be sought after?

First, the primal object of the family, the well-being of offspring, can alone be secured in the present, and in any future in sight, as it has been in the past, by a measurably stable family life,

attained by a frank and obedient acceptance of marriage as having more than personal significance, that is as being a matter of social concern. Marriage is that central element of sex-union required and developed by the family in accordance with commonly accepted beliefs concerning the objects of the family. Marriage must therefore be looked upon as a subordinate element of the family order, rather than as a purely individualistic contract. Legal separation and divorce are the means by which pathological conditions of family life are regulated in the interests of accepted social organization and accepted claims of personal justice; and therefore separation and divorce are elements of the family order and not purely individualistic terminations of personal contract. We cannot, therefore, accept as valid Milton's ideal of marriage as an arrangement solely for the happiness of men and women. Society in our modern world, more than in ancient times, has to pay the penalty for the wrongdoing, the mistake, or the incompetency of the parents of children. Marriage is, indeed, the highest means we have for securing the happiness of the majority of human beings; but the happiness of each and all who are married is not alone the end in an institution upon which we depend as a channel for life's progressive currents. Therefore any form of excessive individualism that ignores or evades social control of marriage, any childish rebellion against the hardships of the legal bond, any revolt of personal whim or selfishness that could not safely become the rule for the majority of humanity, must not be allowed to secure for individuals exemption from social obligation in the married life. Hence we must seek to secure in some form consistent with our modern political and ethical ideals, a form of social control of the family which shall be more efficient than our present confused and hesitant direction. As a first step in that tendency teachers of ethics and religion must place clearly before all sorts and conditions of men and women the supreme need and righteousness of some form of social control of the modern family. With the common acceptance of that ideal the method of its application can be developed with comparative ease.

It should be more clearly understood that our own is the first form of civilization that has tried in any large way the experiment of placing the entire burden of the success of the family upon the

characters and capacities of two persons. In primitive social orders, and in the older civilizations, each married pair and their children were sustained, disciplined and controlled by the collective family order in which they lived. Now we trust two people in early youth, undisciplined, undeveloped, perhaps deficient in mental, moral, physical or economic power, to marry as they will; bear children without let or hindrance; take care of them or not as seems desirable or possible to them; separate with ease with or without legal procedure, and the burden of all the failures in marriage are placed directly upon society as a whole. The consequences of this daring dependence upon individuals in the family life has brought us to the point where we see clearly that what society accepts in its consequences as its burden, it must control as its right and duty.

What social institution do we now possess equal to the task of social control of the modern family? But one — the state.

The old tyranny of tribal custom is gone; the later despotism of the patriarchate is no more; the unquestioned rule of rabbi and priest no longer exists; the family bond is already stretched to cover so wide an area of personal choice that it cannot hold firm against unsafe or unwise choices. The modern state has absorbed within itself the "mother-right" and the "father-rule," the church control and the educational standard. The modern state is the final appeal in individual need and the ultimate authority in social conduct. Of all modern social institutions the state alone is now powerful enough, definite enough and ethical enough, to accept for all mankind alike the responsibility of care, control and development of the individual life. It is therefore the only institution powerful enough, definite enough and ethical enough, to really control, in the interest of social progress, the family, which is the first and most vital agency by which the individual is rendered fit for society.

The most important thing, therefore, for the stability of the family and for the better securing of its primal object of child-care and nurture is insistence upon a *uniform civil marriage service*. This should be conditioned upon previous application for license, proper delay in securing evidence that there is no impediment to the marriage, and as careful preliminary inquiry in all

essential matters as may be possible. This civil marriage should be limited in form to such words as persons of all religious faiths could conscientiously use; should be performed in such places as would safeguard privacy and protect from all trivial and coarse associations; should be performed only by special magistrates set aside for this important function and capable of properly representing the dignity and power of the state. It was a backward step in the United States when religious ministers and civil magistrates were put upon the same plane of authority in respect to marriage, even although a civil license was demanded as a preliminary to the nuptial ceremony. We are too divided in ideal and practice in the religious world to-day, we are too deficient in a common standard of what a clergyman should be and do, we are too lacking in ethical unity in church creeds for any church or all the churches in Christendom combined to safely acquire a right equivalent to that of an officer of the state in a matter that concerns the whole of society in such vital fashion as does the organization of family life. It is natural that churches which, like the Jewish, have brought down through the ages the judicial and mandatory powers of the religious ruler should hold on to the control of marriage and divorce. It is natural that the Roman Catholic Church, which absorbed the patriarchal forms from Roman civilization, should still feel it a duty to declare what constitutes true marriage. It is natural that a sect which, like the Friends, has made the church a form of social organization covering property, education and other concerns now generally absorbed by the state, should have taken upon itself the control of marriage, along with charity and reformatory work and all forms of social care for the fruits of marriage. But there is great inconsistency in younger sects, small bodies of ultra-protestants which base their union on personal faith alone, asking to be invested with state powers in regard to so important a social service.

In proportion as religion grows spiritual and individual, in that proportion it grows less ecclesiastical, and therefore less fitted for legal functions. The time has come when great divergence of religious opinion and much weakening of religious discipline make it necessary for social safety and progress that the state assume over all classes of believers and non-believers its rightful suprema-

cy in this matter. Any chosen form may "solemnize" a marriage, and the more dear and intimate such ceremony the better. But one form should "legalize" marriage, and that the one by which society safeguards, defines and controls its most indispensable function of family life. For this form, however, we cannot use ill-bred magistrates of inferior courts who have perhaps gained their positions by political trickery; nor can we leave the details of such a ceremony to chance. The beautiful "Halls of Marriage" of some European cities might well be reproduced in the United States, and justices who were no longer capable of the hardest work of the courts, but who had proved themselves of most honorable character, be set aside for this task as a distinction of high social service.

If we could once thus establish the state in its rightful place of social control of marriage we could begin to do definite things now difficult, if not impossible, to attempt, in order to render the family more stable than it is now. The most vital treatment of pathological conditions in the modern family is not to tinker with divorce but to take radical measures to prevent so many people from marrying who should not marry, and whose parenthood is a social danger and disgrace. The stability of the family depends not solely or chiefly upon keeping people together who have married, but in removing from the currents of family descent the poisonous elements of physical and psychological degeneracy. Experience has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the largest producing cause of human misery and social retardation is the marriage and breeding of their kind of the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the victims of diseases induced by vicious lives and those of degenerative psychosis tending toward insanity or crime. We have more of these degenerates, comparatively speaking, than preceding civilizations, because we keep them alive where under harsher conditions nature would kill them off more quickly. We are therefore under bonds, if we would not have our growth in charity hinder our progress in health and power, to see to it that these unfortunates do not "bring forth seed after their kind." The state of Indiana has led the way by its statute declaring that "No licence to marry shall be issued where either of the parties is an imbecile, epileptic, of insane mind; or to any male person who has

been within five years an inmate of any asylum or home for indigent persons, unless it satisfactorily appears that at the time of application for the marriage license the applicant is able to support a family and likely to do so; nor shall any licence issue when either of the contracting parties is afflicted with a transmissible disease or at the time of making the application under the influence of intoxicating liquors or narcotic drugs." The other way of approaching the end of protecting the family against degenerative influences is to place in permanent custodial care all those proved unfit for life and therefore unfit for marriage. Unfortunately we have only about one-tenth of those needing such custodial care now protected in an adequate manner; but example is setting in that direction. A tendency also is now started toward the sterilizing of vicious and criminal persons who cannot well be kept in permanent custodial care, but should not be allowed to taint the social fabric with their degenerate lives. In increasing measure we must use the power of the state to remove from the problems of marriage and divorce those hopelessly pathological elements known to be most inimical to the welfare of offspring and the health of the social body.

Second: the family autonomy in relation to economic conditions must be adjusted to quite new social demands. The granting of property rights and contract powers to married women, inevitable as a result of new conceptions of individual rights, has disarranged the old and simple plan of placing both financial power and economic responsibility in the hands of the male head of the family. The whole question of financial responsibility of men and women toward their "other halves," and of both parents toward their common children, as well as the larger question of economic family responsibility for the care of the aged and helpless members of society, must come up for careful reconsideration now that women have "bankbooks" and minors have "pay envelopes." "Non-support" is often given as a reason for divorce; doubtless oftener than is honest, as the charge often covers more serious offenses against the marriage covenant. The laws under which divorce is granted for this cause, and those by which "alimony" or "separate maintenance" are secured, have not been adjusted consistently to the new financial independence of women, and work injustice,

sometimes to men and sometimes to women, and often to the children involved. Again, the fact that women, whether married or single, when doing their work outside the home receive salary or wages, to hold or expend in their own right, reacts upon the labor of the housewife within the home in a way not always favorable. Perhaps no one thing of such external nature would tend more to the stability and happiness of average family life to-day than some form of legal and just appraising of the services of the house-mother in the home. The large area of domestic labor which has been absorbed by the new machine-dominated industry offers wages to women secured by law. The economic value of the house-mother in those forms of service which have not, and perhaps never can be rendered strictly "productive" in the usual sense of that word, the economic values of intelligent saving, wise spending, the conservation of mental and physical force through family protection and increased happiness, this is not recognized as having any market value. The poet says of a woman: "The charm of her presence was felt when she went." The economic value of the house-mother's service is felt when she dies, or falls ill and the price of her substitute or substitutes is reckoned! The married state has now to compete in attractiveness to women on its economic side, and for the first time in any large way with independent earning at some congenial specialized labor for which opportunities of training are offered to girls on all sides. If the persistent devotion of women to the more diffused, and yet seemingly vital processes of intensive family service to husband, children, the aged members of the family and the general home-making, are to be retained, they must come at last to be reckoned at some definite value which will give women a share in the current family income as well as give her responsibility with man for the common family needs.

The third object of the family, that of the moral discipline of its members as preparation for larger social coöperation, is now subject to many demands for readjustment, both of ideals and customs. Sociologists are now telling us that the home was never, relatively to other social forces, so weak in power over the individual life. Certainly many elements of common environment assail the integrity of parental control and the established standards of

the home. In the first place ours is a fluid civilization. Those older stays for wandering fancies and weak wills which inhered in a fixed order of things have been taken away and one must carry his conscience with him on his travels or lose it altogether. Family affection no longer nestles about familiar places in the case of the multitude. The " flat " on which the city family perches for a year or less is not the aid to settled habits that the old homestead was. Again, in this more migratory family life of the present day the parents are not left in seclusion to impress their own ideals and standards upon their children. The adult world of thought and action has access to children and youth as never before, through the newspaper, the varied entertainments, the public library, the street sights and sounds, the very school itself; so that the shielding of childhood and youth from prevailing world currents to which parents may object is more difficult than ever before. Again the democratizing of the family, rightly insisted upon as essential to our present political conditions, has its own dangers; and there must be earnest and intelligent effort to prevent the payment of a price of change more costly than is required. When there was one family head, discipline was comparatively easy to secure along accepted lines. Now that there are " two heads in council," and that even the children are consulted in their own upbringing (as befits potential citizens), it is far more difficult to decide what one should try to accomplish in parental control, as well as far more difficult to accomplish that which the parents really attempt. Moreover, without intending that particular result, the modern conscious effort toward social improvement is forcibly lessening the trust and confidence of many children in the wisdom and power of their parents and often prematurely depriving them of that ancient safeguard against evil. For example, all enlightened communities are now engaged in a warfare against bodily weakness and disease. In that warfare a certain standard of cleanliness and decency of living is being enforced through the activities of the boards of health. This requires certain radical changes in the ways of living of many people, especially of newly arrived immigrants. A significant illustration of the effect of this activity in behalf of health is to be found in the story of little Anita and her mother. In the fine new public schoolhouse which

Anita attended there were baths and all manner of devices to attract to cleanliness. But Anita refused them all. Whereupon a note was sent to Anita's mother explaining that all the children must take a bath at least once a week in the fine equipment of the school. Whereupon Anita's mother sent the following note: "shall I unsew my child out of the warm woolen clothes I have sewed her into for the winter? No, I will not. Water on the bare skin in winter is not well. She shall be warm and she shall not be wet. I am a good mother. Besides, she goes to school to learn books and not to be washed, and she can learn books if she is dirty." We are all convinced that Anita should be washed, and that very strong moral suasion must be brought to bear to secure that result. But the conflict between the teacher's standards and those of the mother must weaken Anita's confidence in her mother's judgment; and when she gets her "working papers" and her own "pay envelope" at the early age of fourteen she will very likely despise her mother's genuine wisdom of life in ways she most needs to guide and protect her in the industrial struggle. These dangerous chasms between the children and the parents must be bridged so far as possible by a finer technique of social service than we have yet acquired, or we shall sacrifice too many personal lives in the processes of social advance.

The fourth object of the family, the development of an efficient personality in each of its members, is also subject to new social demands in ways that give the thoughtful much anxiety. The thoroughgoing and wholly consistent democratization of the family in respect to its adult members is an essential in this process of development of personality, and the democratic state cannot be fully developed until a democratic family insures an interior training for citizenship. In an aristocratic *régime* one commanding personality at the head of both the domestic organization and the political body may be sufficient to serve as a model for subservient imitation by the mass of people, within and without the home. On the other hand, in a state which demands self-control, self-direction, self-support and self-expression from every normal adult person in its constituency, in order to secure its own ends of progressive political association, the family must be organized in such fashion as to develop these qualities in each of its mem-

bers. The democratization of the family, therefore, is the spiritual equivalent of political democracy. As such it is inevitable and wholly desirable; but its initiation causes some "growing pains." It is in this area of the development of personality that tendencies develop toward increased divorce. Women are now seeking divorce in larger numbers than men. Under almost every form of marriage men have found a way to mitigate for themselves the tragedy of an undesired domestic bond. Women until these later days of democracy have never, except for short intervals and under unusual conditions (such as those attending the decline of Roman civilization), had freedom of personality either in or out of marriage. As in the phrase of Dr. Johnson, so in law and public opinion, there has been always "a boundless difference between the infidelity of man and woman" which forced women to endure in their husbands that which, manifested in themselves, would have freed their husbands from all marital responsibility. In like manner the self-assertion of rights which in man has been one of the priceless assets in the growth of personality, in woman has been considered a perversion of nature; because until freedom for women was possible there could be no wholesome avenue of social expression of woman's individuality.

To-day the ancient object of the family, that of moral discipline for social ends, and the modern object of the family, that of the development of personality for the uses of a democratic social order, are both concerned in lifting the standard of sexual morality, equally for men and for women, to a higher plane. In this process women in their new freedom will not endure the unspeakable indignities and hopeless suffering they have been compelled to endure in the past. That last outrage upon a chaste wife and faithful mother, enforced physical union with a husband and father whose touch is pollution and whose heritage to his children is disease and death, will less and less be tolerated by individual women or by an enlightened ethical standard. In so far as the increase in divorces is a testimony to this movement of women to refuse marital relations with unfit men it is a movement for the benefit of the family and not for its injury. Hence it is as idle as the blowing of the wind for any solemn company, composed wholly of men and chiefly of ecclesiastics, to pass resolutions call-

ing for the reinstatement of an indissoluble marriage bond and for the subjection of wives to their "conjugal duty" whatever their feelings or condition may be. Permanent and legal separation is now seen to be just and necessary in cases of moral delinquency. Whether such separation shall include power of remarriage is still much mooted in many quarters. It would seem wise to infer from all that one knows of social changes that there must be many methods of readjustment tried before we shall secure such a uniform law as will do justice both to the individual life and the social claim; and that hence dogmatism is out of place and careful treatment of each case as it arises, on its own merits, is the safe and helpful method. The tendency, however, in all fields of thought and effort is away from "eternal punishment" here or hereafter, and in the direction of belief in the power of self-recovery and of trying even vital experiments of life over again in hope of the better outcome. It is likely that marriage and divorce will prove no exception to this hopeful tendency of moral endeavor. Moreover, so far the testimony of actual life in the countries where no remarriage is allowed shows a lower standard of marital faithfulness, of child-care and of the conservation and culture of the moral nature of the members of the family group, than is shown in the countries that grant absolute divorce for serious causes. The number of divorces and remarriages in our country, although showing considerable marital unhappiness, is not large enough to indicate any widespread social disease. And even if such serious conditions were indicated the chief reliance for cure must be upon the moral development of men and women rather than upon the external pressure of laws. It is true, however, that while proper self-assertion and regard for personal dignity and the conservation of true personality may lead to proper changes in marital relations, the self-assertion of the foolish and the selfish, and the undeveloped may lead to marital changes which are unnecessary and harmful. The social need in respect to divorce to-day is not to try to hold together by main strength of law and public opinion those who cannot be either morally helpful to each other, truly devoted to the children's welfare, or happy themselves in their present relationship; the social need is rather to prevent separations of married couples on trivial grounds of pique, sudden

temper, childish whim or the mere suggestive power of newspaper scandals. The social need is not for the immediate working out of all details of a uniform law, while yet rapidly changing social and industrial conditions make variety of experimental treatment of cultural value; the social need is rather for a legal provision everywhere which will secure more deliberation before action, more accessible counsel of the wise and good for the foolish and confused, more patient waiting, more earnest trial to "patch it up" and "go on" even when things look dark and threatening. It is becoming more and more the custom to establish special courts for particular classes and kinds of adjudications; such as the "children's court," the "industrial arbitration court," etc. It has been suggested, and wisely, that there should be a "court of domestic differences," a special legal hearing for those seeking separation or divorce. Into such a special court, founded upon some law giving the state power to exact a deliberate and dignified method of discussion before action, thus preventing haste and vulgar publicity, the "probation system" might be introduced; separation securing immediate relief when necessary, but divorce allowed only after patient effort, under the direct control and aid of the court, had failed to render the union successful. Passion and selfishness have put asunder many a couple who could have won a lasting happiness together through ethical discipline and wise help in their time of need.

To many observers the modern increase of divorce is not only an unmitigated evil but a sign of abnormal development in women, and hence a symptom of extreme social disease. It is certainly true that the present condition of women marks an unprecedented social revolution. From the position of a minor they have assumed more and more the place of a citizen; from a condition of "status" they have passed to a condition of "contract." Equality of opportunity in education; freedom of choice in employment; economic independence and complete property rights; the manifold diversions of a newly acquired social freedom; the emancipation of the home from the work-demands of the handicraft stage of domestic labor, and the effect of machine-dominated industry to give women's work a commercial value; the state appropriation of "women's organic office of teaching" and the consequent em-

ployment of thousands of women as public officials in the schools; the new delight, often almost an intoxication, of free expression of personality in artistic and intellectual fields heretofore closed to all but an infinitesimal fraction of womankind; the splendid enthusiasms for social uplift which the modern power of women opens to their consciousness, with the new opportunity of pouring into service for the public weal women's age-long accumulations of social sympathy — all these things give women a new, and to many a perilous, power of self-assertion. That the great mass of women are still so humbly patient at the old tasks, that they still unquestionably place the welfare of children and even of husbands and the aged and sick of their families before the full realization of their own personal wishes, is proof that the nature of women is essentially social, and her bent unconquerably toward the perfection of family life. It could not be, however, that so radical a change in the lives and conditions of all "human beings of the mother sex," most intimately connected with the central values of family life as they are, should be effected without some disturbance of that part of the social order we call the family. As in all forms of social disturbance incidental to increase in democracy, however, the way out is the way on, not the way back.

The great demand to-day is for a reincarnation of the old sanctities of life in new forms. The old ideal of marriage as a sacrament of religion has still its place; not in the old form that elevates one church ceremony above all other rituals and denies the right of adult human beings to free themselves from intolerable conditions after certain formulæ have been pronounced; but in the new form that makes marriage a spiritual bond and its end the moral culture of the race.

Marriage is indeed, as many ancient peoples believed, a free and private contract; but not one that concerns two people alone, to be formed and dissolved without regard to any law but that of personal happiness. It is private and free in that it has to do with those mysterious yearnings of the inner life that point out from a world of friends the one elect and solitary mate, and thus ordains selective affection as the supreme guide to marriage.

Marriage is a social arrangement for the initiation of individuals into the social order and the old social control of its vital

relationship must persist in forms suited to modern conditions; but the family witnesses more than an external order; it is the tie that binds one generation to another in the spiritual unity of the race.

Marriage is a school for the development of personal life; it must hold within it more and more room for equal rights, mutual concessions and justly balanced activities; but the family is more than a school for even the finest individuation; it is the innermost temple of sacrificial service of one loved one for another, and in its companionship is wrought out that sacred alchemy of unselfishness by means of which " they that lose their lives shall find them."

It is in the reincarnation of all those spiritual ideals of the race that have embodied themselves in the nobler forms of family life in the past that the composite social order of this modern era must find its own true and consistent ethical laws of the family, of marriage and of divorce. This is the vital task of enlightened and consecrated leadership.

THE DUTY OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS WITH RESPECT TO THE CHILD

MRS. FREDERICK NATHAN, OF NEW YORK

At the conventions of 1904 and 1907 held by the Protestant Episcopal Church, resolutions were passed calling upon Christian employers and parents to make the labor of children impossible in this Christian country. It was pointed out that the employment of children in factories depresses wages, destroys homes and depreciates the human stock. Whatever interferes with the proper education and nurture of the child contradicts the best interests of the nation.

To pass such a resolution was indeed an admirable thing, but it is unfortunate that most resolutions of this kind stop with the resolution. At all congresses and conventions we hear interesting addresses — some of them — and have the privilege of participating in edifying discussions, but too often the conditions which we deprecate continue for many long years, while we decry them, and alas! we ourselves are often unconsciously the abettors of the evil.

How many of us present to-day may be wearing or using ar-

ticles, which at some stage of their manufacture, have involved the labor of little children? Recent statistics tell us that in Georgia and the two Carolinas, the centre of the cotton mill industry in the south, one cotton mill operative out of three has been found to be from ten to fifteen years of age. For these three States, nearly one thousand children under ten were reported working in the mills. A recent investigation of over half the cotton mills of Mississippi showed that according to a conservative estimate twenty-five per cent. of the operatives were under fourteen. An investigation made a short time ago under friendly auspices revealed the fact that in South Carolina mills, there were fifteen hundred children employed under twelve years of age. Only last year, through the National Child Labor Committee, Mr. Lewis W. Hine (whose photographs are so well known) visited many of the cotton mills in North and South Carolina and took photographs of the many little ones he found working there.

It is almost incredible that a progressive people should be so blind as to continue maiming, crippling, stultifying those who are to be the fathers and mothers of the next generation. Mr. Hine found a very large number of children at work. Even one little girl of seven had been working eighteen months. It was not a violation of the South Carolina law for an orphan of *five and a half* to work in a mill. In another mill, out of two hundred and fifty employees in the spinning room, it was intimated that eighty-five were under the age of sixteen. Upon examining the children, it was found that five out of six were wholly illiterate — could not read or write.

The number of working children, instead of decreasing as civilization advances, has increased; it is claimed that in one specific line of trade, the number of girls working has increased six times in amount within the past twenty years. In some factories little girls work all through the long night — twelve long weary hours — amidst the roar and din of machinery, in poorly ventilated rooms, filled with the lint and dust from the looms, which fill the lungs. The children are sometimes given a strong concoction of coffee to keep them awake; they are often so exhausted when the night shift is over, that they are seen lying on benches

or on the ground near the factories, too tired and sleepy to go home to breakfast. Of the children between the ages of ten and fourteen employed in cotton mills, 41.3 are illiterate. These are white children born of American parents.

So it is very likely that those of us who wear cotton undergarments may be innocently encouraging child labor. Then again the cotton undergarment may have been made up in a sweat-shop in New York City. There, wages are so low, seasons so short, that every member of the family is utilized. The common income is eked out even by the pennies the little children earn in pulling out the bastings, sewing on buttons, or carrying, on their heads or backs heavy loads to and from the contractors. An agent of the Consumers' League found in an investigation covering only a few blocks in New York City, seventy-six children nine years of age at work, forty-five children eight years of age, and ninety-two children not over seven years of age at work, some of whom were only four, five and six years of age.

Dr. Annie Daniel, who for many years has been connected with the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, testifies that she has found babes of three years of age working continuously for one and a half to two hours at a time in their tenement homes. She even found one boy of two and a half years old helping his mother and four other children under twelve years of age making artificial flowers. Her most extraordinary experience was the discovery of a baby of one and a half years old helping to make passementerie. Children over eight years of age who attend school help with the work at home after school hours, frequently working late at night, and on Saturdays and Sundays.

As Dr. Daniel has well pointed out, children thus permitted to work are deprived of the two great rights which parents and the state are bound to give them: health and an education. The children work in rooms where the atmosphere is foul, where the light is so poor that their eyes suffer from the strain, the evil effect enduring all their lives. Their brains are not sufficiently developed to bear fixed attention and thus enforced concentration to work does irreparable damage. A member of the Governing Board of the Consumers' League, while making some investiga-

tions encountered the tragic case of a little girl only seven years old who, ever since the baby age of three, had been compelled to sit day after day with little legs crossed, pulling out bastings from garments in the course of manufacture. So contorted had her limbs become from lack of use that she had lost control ove them entirely, and it became necessary to send her to a hospital to have an operation performed. The pathos of the situation is increased by the excuse that parents offer for such incidents: "Either the children must work to death, or they must starve to death." In one parochial school of seven hundred children, whose parents were chiefly Italian, it was found that one half of them worked on clothing at home after school hours. Exhausted from the lack of sleep, they often fell asleep and were considered backward or stupid. A large proportion of children who work at home are between the ages of five and ten. In an investigation made, it was found that out of 67 children who did not attend school, 40 were violating the compulsory education law and 23 were too young to be protected by its provisions.

Or again, we may purchase our cotton garments in stores where little children are employed. In many of the States, children are not so well protected as they are at present in my State. There, no boy or girl under 16 years can be employed after 7 p. m. or for more than nine hours a day or more than 54 hours a week. Before this law went into effect, however, we used to find little children working the week before Christmas until half past ten and eleven o'clock at night, twelve and a half long weary hours — which Dr. Jacobi, the medical authority, says is too long a working day even for adult women.

There is only one practical way of stopping child labor — there is only one practical way of overcoming any evil: reject its product wholly. When our ancestors threw the tea overboard, they rejected the product and the revolution was born; when the North would no longer countenance slavery in the South, it refused to buy the cotton, sugar and rice produced by slave labor. So if earnest men and women really desire to put a stop to the inhuman practice of placing on the immature shoulders of little children the burdens which rightfully belong to adults, we must all refuse to purchase the product of their baby fingers.

The supply of all articles is regulated by the demand. Let the demand for garments made or finished by child labor cease. This can be accomplished by the public insisting upon a guarantee being furnished, such, for instance, as the National Consumers' League provides in the form of its label, which is only given to those manufacturers who agree in writing to have all their goods made on their own premises, to employ no children under sixteen years of age, to exact no night work, and to obey the State factory laws.

Unfortunately our appeal to the conscience of the public has not yet met a sufficiently wide response, to warrant the placing of the label on any garments except women's white underwear. Until we succeed in extending the scope of our movement to men's garments as well, they can only prove their heroic devotion to the cause by adopting women's wear!

Another way that conscientious men and women can do their share in the broad struggle towards abolishing child labor in our midst, is to buy stock in the various industries where children are employed, and then as stock holders let them insist upon the more humane policy of eliminating the child as a factor in increasing dividends and decreasing payrolls.

If your bank accounts will not enable you to undertake so extensive a measure, there is a smaller expenditure suggested by the National Child Labor Committee by means of which each of you, religious and liberal men and women can aid in saving the children; we are often asked by practical folk: "What can be done when a child of twelve or thirteen *must* work in order to increase the small family income,— when, for instance, the father is dead or disabled?" Scholarships have been established by the Child Labor Committees for the purpose of assisting worthy families who are deprived through legislation of the labor of their children. When the case, after a thorough investigation, is found to be worthy, a sum of money equal to the weekly earning capacity of the child is given to the family, so that the child can be kept at school. This method, as a matter of social economy, is wiser than the former method of permitting the child to work and earn

a pittance, and then contributing to the support of the family *after* the child has broken down physically, mentally or morally.

It is not only because children are deprived of their natural birthright — the right to grow, to study and to play, when put at work at too early an age, it is also because they are apt to be ruined physically as well as spiritually.

Children are employed in large numbers in our canneries. We not only wear garments made by little children, but we eat food prepared by them. It is considered most important that the perishable goods should not spoil, but there seems to be no compunction about ruining the constitutions of frail children. Conscientious investigators report that children of all ages — some mere babies of four — go out from the cities in the vicinity of the canneries, during the canning season, and work from seven in the morning until nine and ten at night, snatching only a few moments from their work, to eat. The mothers have no time to prepare meals and the children must be contented with hunks of bread; they are often shaken awake to work wearily on when they have dozed over their evening tasks. Sometimes they are compelled to stand all day at these tasks and often the neighboring machinery is unguarded.

The sheds are not considered technically as part of the factory, and therefore, in my State child labor laws are violated (in the spirit, if not the letter) with impunity. For instance: One woman who worked from five a. m. until nine thirty p. m. had her two little girls aged seven and nine with her and they worked the same length of time, although they complained of being tired and said their limbs ached. The New York Factory Inspector reports that during an investigation made last August, in 52 canneries 593 children under 14 years of age were found *at work* in sheds, and 123 of them were less than 10 years old. Even more startling is the danger that little ones will be crushed, actually torn to pieces by the huge machinery around which they work. In New York State alone, during the year 1907, there were one hundred and eleven victims of industrial accidents to children under sixteen. This may not seem an extraordinarily large number from the statistician's point of view, but when we consider that it means one hundred and eleven crippled and

maimed human beings, their lives wrecked, their usefulness and happiness at an end, their mothers' hearts wrung, then we realize the enormity of the crime.

In Indiana there are seventy-five different industries employing child labor. Accidents are so common that in one town a grocer remarked quite casually that there were a dozen small boys in his vicinity who had been crippled in one way or another in the mills. "Every little while," said he, "some one is hurt. Last week a boy had a hand entirely taken off."

Among other accidents authoritatively reported may be mentioned: A boy twelve years old working in a coal breaker had his arm torn from his shoulder by being caught in some machinery. He received no monetary compensation and was merely dismissed. A little girl of seven had three fingers torn from her hand by the relentless machinery in a cotton mill. A young boy working in a stock yard was put at work to saw bones at an unguarded machine where his father had just had his hand cut off. These are typical cases found in our country which has become notorious of late for the frequency of preventable accidents.

The Dangerous Trades Bill which has just passed the New York Legislature and which now awaits the Governor's signature is the greatest gain in New York child Labor Legislation obtained in several years. It absolutely prohibits the employment of children under 16 years of age at dangerous machinery. The new law will specify by name a long list of prohibited occupations, which are dangerous on account of rapidly moving or sharp edged machinery or on account of poisonous fumes.*

One of the worst features of child labor is to be found in the breakers in connection with the coal mines. Official reports record 10,006 boys employed under 16 years of age in Pennsylvania's mines and breakers. Not only do they grow up in dense ignorance, but thrown as they are among coarse, hardened, vicious men, in the midst of an environment that in more than one way, is black and sooty, they in turn become hardened and vicious early in life.

It is estimated that there are seven thousand children employed in the manufacture of tobacco. Any one visiting a cigar factory

* Since this article was written, the Governor has signed the Bill and the Law goes into effect in October, 1909.

realizes how strong and pungent are the fumes, and how readily the throat contracts and becomes dry and irritated. In winding tobacco about cigars, most of the workers find it quicker to use their teeth than to use the cutter on their tables, so that it is not unusual to find immature children having their systems poisoned by nicotine.

In the glass industry it is estimated that there are sixty-four hundred children at work, hundreds of them working all night long. In Pennsylvania alone — according to the Factory Inspector's report — there are 3,000, or 15 1-2 per cent. of all employees in the glass blowing factories, under sixteen years of age. According to statistics of 1905, nearly 10 per cent. of all employees in Pennsylvania were under 16 years of age. (State Bureau of Industrial Statistics.) In modern industries in our country, glass-making ranks third among the largest employers of children, in proportion to the number of adult employees, spinning, a process of silk manufacture, and the cotton industry alone superseding it. If the labor demanded of the children were for the daylight hours only, there might not be such serious objections, but the juggernaut of the trade demands night work. It is estimated on the basis of the census report of 1905, there were twelve hundred and seventy-one boys under sixteen years of age doing night work in glass factories in the State of Pennsylvania. There is additional menace to the physical health of the children from the fact that some parts of the factories are heated by the furnaces to an abnormal degree and boys run from such parts to where the temperature is many degrees lower, or often they run out of a cold night for a whiff of fresh air, and get pneumonia in consequence. By alternating,— working one week by day and one week by night — they acquire habits of irregularity which lead to moral as well as physical deterioration.

While it is estimated that there are 20,000 children under twelve years of age working in Southern mills, it is recorded in the United States census of 1900 that there were then more children under sixteen working in Pennsylvania mills than in all of the combined Southern Sates. "If Pennsylvania's working children were to stand shoulder to shoulder, with no space between them, the line would extend twenty-two miles!" In many

States there are no official records, no adequate facilities upon which to base statistics, so that it is difficult to present accurate figures. That is one reason why a National Children's Bureau should be established in Washington, so that we may have some means of ascertaining reliable data concerning the labor of children in our country.

While we are striving to get better legislation in our various States for the protection of our children in factories and stores, there are many occupations in which very young children are employed to which the laws do not usually extend. Among these may be included: messenger and telegraph boys (surrounded as they are by special temptations), boys in bowling alleys, in slate and stone quarries, in brick yards and slaughter houses, in blacksmith shops and barber shops, in business offices of various kinds, on huckster wagons and at boot black stands. My attention has been called in my city to one little boy of eleven, who gets up at 3 a. m. to turn out the street lamps in an outlying district. It is claimed that the law does not apply to him. Messenger boys, instead of receiving a weekly wage, are paid by the piece, and this is often the cause of their downfall. Receiving irregular amounts makes them spend irregularly, and they learn to deceive their parents as to the actual amount they earn, keeping back small sums for illegitimate amusement, such as gambling, or for low picture shows. They also learn to depend upon tips and prefer to be sent to evil resorts because of their likelihood of getting a larger fee.

In consideration of all these facts, I maintain that far better than passing resolutions at conventions, would be the formation of committees to urge necessary legislation in States where children are not sufficiently protected, and to insist upon rigid enforcement of the laws when laws have already been passed restricting child labor.

In my own State, where we have a competent and conscientious Commissioner of Labor, there were found during 1908 three hundred and five children under fourteen years of age illegally at work. Nearly $4,500 in fines were collected from employers prosecuted for illegally employing children during 1908. The

Commissioner of Labor reports having found in New York State 1,633 children illegally employed, and these figures do not include those found in stores.

Now it seems to me that a Congress like this should not only set its seal of disapproval against the whole system of child labor, but that each clergyman and each member should individually discountenance such practice. It should be considered just as much of a stigma in the business world to be caught illegally employing little children as it would be to be caught selling short weight to customers or returning them short change.

The clergymen,— the religious leaders of our country — can do much to bring about such a strong public sentiment as will revolutionize our present industrial system, which overworks minors and leaves an army of adults unemployed.

The National Child Labor Committee has asked all clergymen to set apart the last Sunday in January of each year as "Child Labor Sunday," when sermons on this text are to be preached. Last year 2,000 clergymen (four times as many as the year before) responded to the appeal, writing for literature. If any clergyman present will coöperate in this manner, the Child Labor Committee will be happy to receive their names, and supply them with information.

We boast as a nation, of our great commerce; we feel a sense of pride when we consider that we manufacture two billion dollars' worth of products a year. But when we realize that about two million little children are permitted to be engaged in those manufactures, we feel rather like bowing our heads with shame and exclaiming with Emerson: "Give us worse cotton, but give us better men."

THE DUTY OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS TOWARD THE TEMPERANCE REFORM

WILSON S. DOAN, OF INDIANAPOLIS

There has been organized opposition to the liquor traffic in America for more than a century. By the fourth generation the subject necessarily is threadbare, unattractive, and sometimes repulsive. "Save me from my friends" may well be the cry of

the temperance force to-day. No reform ever so suffered at the hands of its friends. On the one hand a wild fanaticism has often characterized its adherents. Its cause has been often espoused by those who were misinformed as to facts, and illogical as to conclusions; men and women who spend their time dealing with abstract propositions rather than common-place conditions. And at times this warfare has fallen into the hands of an army of mercenary soldiers who are more interested in the stipends of the warfare than in the cause of humanity; an army of men and women who are enlisted in the battle for a livelihood because of their inefficiency to find any other opening. This is one proximate cause of that great host that stands like a stone wall of indifference as to this question. Be no fanatic. We need our better judgment. The fanatical soldier's aim is bad. Keep cool. Shoot straight.

Do not be a mercenary reformer. Such a reformer always needs to be reformed; and to use the language of the street, "put your hands upon your pocket-books," and not into them, when he is near.

Neither stand like a statue unmoved and indifferent in the very midst of one of the greatest moral battles of the age. Between the restless sea of fanaticism and the rocky cliffs of indifference and opposition there is a plain path for every patriotic citizen. The question is many-sided. It has a moral, a civic, an educational, an economic, a political, a judicial, a medical and an industrial side. Most of these must in this discussion be eliminated. The question of sumptuary legislation, in so far as it affects the citizen's inherent right to eat and drink what he pleases, must also be eliminated. The question of personal liberty must not be attempted to be moved from the Holy of Holies where the Creator placed it. Leave that question between man and his own conscience. But there is a question which is of paramount importance in this discussion, and that is, what is the character of the saloon as an institution, and what is its effect upon society, and what is your duty toward it? In determining the question of the character of the saloon let us be guided by those rules of evidence which would guide us in determining any other important question. A witness to be most effective must be un-

prejudiced. He must have no interest in the case one way or the other, and the weight of his testimony is to be governed by his opportunity to see and to know the things about which he is testifying. With this well known rule in mind let us seek evidence as to the character of the saloon and its effect upon society. Let us have the best evidence. So on the ground of prejudice, we will eliminate the professional temperance reformer, for he may well bear the name of crank, keeping in mind the well known definition that a crank is a man who sees one thing very clearly but does not see it in its relation to other things. So, however valuable his testimony may be as to the character of the saloon, for the purpose of this discussion we shall set it aside.

Shall we take the testimony of the brewer, the saloon-keeper and the bartender? They do not come within the purview of the best and most weighty evidence. They are parties to the case and are certainly financially interested in the final outcome. So we shall set them aside and seek more disinterested testimony.

Shall we take the business man? He is busy in the counting room, the office and the store. He has never had an opportunity to know much of the effects of this institution, of this business and its character. Ask him do you know the saloon business, and you will receive the answer at once, I know nothing of it. So for want of knowledge and lack of opportunity to know and understand the things about which he is testifying we shall set him aside as a witness.

Shall we ask the professional politician and the ward-heeler? The saloon is too often his ally, and the bar the marshalling ground of his cohorts. Thus personally interested we will set him aside.

Shall we ask the Clergy? With all due deference to the personnel of many of this audience I do not believe that the Clergy know the saloon business, and until they do they are not competent to testify. I think they will admit that their testimony is for the most part hear-say, and therefore objectionable.

But there is a witness whose opportunity of knowledge is unsurpassed, intelligent and unprejudiced. A witness who has had years of training to make his words speak the truth without fear or failure. A witness who has had, as no other witness has, an

opportunity to see and know the character of the saloon, its effect upon human society, its influence, its power, not only upon the individual, but upon the community and the State. This witness is the Courts. Our Courts are not fanatics. They are not prejudiced. They are supposed to be disinterested.

They have had better opportunity to know than any one else, in view of the great amount of litigation which the licensed saloon has caused in every State in the Union.

Let the Supreme Court of the United States answer the question, "what is the character of the saloon and its effect upon society?" A united bench, speaking through Justice Brewer, says: "By the general concurrence of opinion of every civilized and Christian Community there are few sources of crime and misery to society equal to the dramshop where intoxicating liquors in small quantities to be drank at the time are sold indiscriminately to all persons applying. The statistics of every State show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits obtained at these retail liquor saloons than to any other source."

I submit that the Supreme Court and Justice Brewer are witnesses whose testimony carries with it much weight.

Let the Supreme Court of Kansas answer the same question; and that Court says: "Probably no greater source of crime and sorrow has ever existed than the social drinking saloon. It has caused more drunkenness and made more drunkards than all other causes combined, and drunkenness is a pernicious source of all kinds of crime and sorrow. It is a Pandora's box sending forth innumerable ills and woes, shame and disgrace, indigence, poverty and want — social happiness destroyed, domestic broils and bickerings engendered, social ties sundered, homes made desolate, families scattered, sin, crime and untold sorrows; not even hope left, but everything lost. An everlasting farewell to all true happiness and to all the nobler aspirations rightfully belonging to every true and virtuous human being."

Let the Supreme Court of Iowa answer the same question, and that Court says: "There is no statistical or economical proposition better established, not one to which a more general assent is given by the leading and intelligent minds than this, that the

use of intoxicating liquors as a drink is the cause of more want, pauperism, suffering, crime and public expense than any other cause; and perhaps it should be said than all other causes combined. Every State applies the most stringent legal power to lotteries, gambling, keeping gambling houses and implements, and to debauchery and obscenity, and no one questions the right and justice of it; and yet how small the weight of woe produced by these united when compared with that which is created by the use of intoxicating drinks alone."

Says the Supreme Court of Missouri: "It is a business which naturally breeds disorder."

Says the Supreme Court of Indiana: "That it produces four-fifths to nine-tenths of all the crime committed is the united testimony of those judges, prison keepers, sheriffs and others engaged in the administration of the criminal law who have investigated the subject."

Says the Supreme Court of Illinois: "Saloons demoralize the community, foster vice, produce crime and beggary, want and misery."

This is the estimate placed upon the saloon by the Courts of final appeal in our land. As loyal American citizens we must accept these decisions as a fair statement of the law of the case. This then is a judicial finding as to the character of the saloon as an institution.

By the side of this proposition of law let us consider a second proposition. Has it not already occurred to you to ask the question, "What is a public nuisance?" A public nuisance has been defined to be any occupation that tampers with public morals, that tends to idleness, that is destructive of public health, or that promotes crime and disorder. And this definition of a public nuisance is given by the same Courts of final appeal from which we have been quoting as to the character of the saloon. Every characterization of the saloon by these Courts places it within the definition of a public nuisance. These Courts are either wrong in their characterization of the saloon, or for a century we have erred in our definitions of a public nuisance.

Now let us re-state our question. In so far as it pertains to

the saloon, what is the duty of religious liberals toward a public nuisance? A public nuisance is a public wrong. Is our attitude toward wrong one of permission or one of prohibition? Ten years before the war William H. Seward said: "Slavery is wrong and there is but one way to right it, and that is to abolish it." If the saloon is what the Courts say it is, it is wrong and there is but one way to right it, and that is to prohibit it. The primary function of the State is for the protection of society, and that State fails to do its duty in the protection of society that for a price permits a wrong. Call this fanaticism if you must. If it be, it is a fanaticism that robs penitentiaries of their inmates, that robs divorce courts of their defendants, that clears the dockets of Police Courts as no other one can do — a fanaticism that saves the wages, the health, the morals of the laboring man. But if the saloon is to be driven out, how shall we do it. Opinions and theories are common-place things. This age demands results. Resolutions of Churches, conventions and party platforms may be urging declarations of war, but in the South and Middle West we are beyond the declaratory stage. The war has already begun, and we are fighting the battles now; and he who is simply talking of the battles he proposes to fight belongs to the Rip Van Winkle age. Thirty-five years of agitation in most of the States demonstrates the fact that the immediate demands for State-wide prohibition have not been productive of definite results in many commonwealths. General Grant never would have fought his Appomattox had it not been for Lookout Mountain, Vicksburg and Sherman's march to the sea. The last five years have demonstrated that the most effective warfare against the saloon is along the line of Local Option. The idea of Local Option has been the road to State-wide prohibition in the South, and it has closed the doors of more saloons in America than all other methods combined. The prohibition of such an institution as the saloon should know no territorial limitations. Do not say the opposition shall be State-wide or not at all; that it shall be as wide as the Nation or not at all. No more illogical position could well be taken. But oppose the saloon everywhere — the single saloon, the saloon in the neighborhood, in the precinct, in the ward, in the township, in the Munici-

pality, in the county, in the State, and in the Nation. Let us see what weapons have been effective, measured by the standard of results rather than the standard of theories.

Georgia.—In Georgia a Local Option law drove the saloons out of one hundred and twenty-five counties in a total number of one hundred and forty-six counties, and in 1907 led to a State-wide prohibitory law. It was the campaign in 125 counties, and the hard fought battles in many of them, that not only drove the saloon from these respective counties, but ultimately gave Georgia a prohibitory law.

Alabama.— Local option in Alabama prior to the enactment of a prohibitory State law had driven out the saloons from 50 counties, out of 67. When they reached that point in the progress of the warfare it was easy for 50 counties to say to 17, "we will make the matter State-wide."

Arkansas.— In Arkansas prior to the prohibitory legislation of 1909, 59 out of 79 counties were dry, and there were left only 317 saloons in the whole State.

Mississippi.— In Mississippi prior to the State Prohibitory Law in 1908, 69 counties out of 76 had banished the saloon. This was the road that led Mississippi to prohibition.

Indiana.— Indiana has 92 counties, and since January, 1909, 48 counties have held Local Option elections and driven out the saloon in 45 of them; making a total of 64 dry counties within the State.

Ohio.— In Ohio the first county local option was held September 30, 1908. Ohio has 88 counties, and to-day, seven months afterwards, the saloon has been driven out of 63 counties in the State.

Tennessee.— Tennessee has 92 counties, and they have driven the saloon out of all except 4 counties in the State. There are only five cities in the State where intoxicating liquors as a beverage can be obtained.

Michigan.— Within the last month 19 counties in Michigan, out of 21, drove out the saloon.

These are the battles fought and victories won. In view of these results local option elections at this time afford the most effective warfare that can be waged against the saloon. The most

ardent advocate of State-wide prohibition will find in this the school-master to bring us to his ideal.

At the last general election the brewers in Indiana placed upon almost every billboard in the State a placard headed with these words "Local Option Means Prohibition;" and in the Hoosier State we are seeing to it that the brewers' prophecy is being fulfilled, but we are not alone. From the South and the West and the North, and Ohio on the East, the morning paper tells of the tide rising higher; and the storm will e're long strike the staid old citadel of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Our fathers builded nobly in the past. Independence, tolerance and liberty they handed down to you and me as heirlooms. They smote the rock of education in the desert of ignorance, and the waters of knowledge flowed forth free to the humblest child. They builded hospitals where the unfortunate received the highest skill and tenderest care; they broke the chains that bound a race and set them free; they penetrated the forest of the Middle West, and where a century ago the Indian wigwams stood, the modern office building now pierces the sky. With prairie schooner they pressed their way onto the western plains and made of them the granaries of the world. They reached the foot of the Western Mountains, and cried "open sesame" to them, and the doors of the chambers of silver and gold swung open. But

> "Our fathers to their graves have gone,
> Their battles past and victories won,
> But sterner trials wait the race
> That rises in their honored place."

As lovers of the home, the cities, the States, the churches, the colleges and the industries, they have given to us men of conscience and men of heart.

The cry comes,

> To arms, to arms, the battle cry,
> Save the Nation lest it die,
> Drive from thy shore this curse and woe,
> And write in thy Statutes saloons must go.

TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION

DR. PEDRO ILGEN, PASTOR, OF THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCH OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, ST. LOUIS, MO.

From the standpoint of a Christian minister I intend to speak to you on the issue now before the citizens of nearly every State, and in an impassionate spirit, I wish to voice the sentiment of all liberty-loving citizens of this country against the fanaticism of prohibition of any kind, and give the password for common sense, freedom, progression and mutual toleration. The latter are,— does it need any proof? — the foundation of peaceful civil development and at the same time of a progressive state and nation, while statutary prohibition, intolerance and fanaticism are the stepping stones to slavery, revolution and ruin. History as such is one continued proof, is a self-repeating verification of my statement.

If ever an attempt has been made — I call it a criminal attempt — to rob man of his God-given rights, rights acknowledged and sanctified by all religions of a free race, rights guaranteed by the constitutions of all free and progressive nations, it has been made by the prohibition party without any difference of creeds, who have not even grasped the first principle of the moral teachings of the great master and friend of humanity: " Love is the fulfillment of the law! " Just imagine, my friends, what would happen to our civil and national, to our commercial life, should our present fight end with the victory of followers of principles that identify the Tzar of Russia and his famous methods to crush individuality, freedom of conscience and freedom of speech, and lay in chains the honest convictions of what we call a free American citizen? Would it not paralyze the entire organism of our American republic, would it not destroy all that has been built up on this very foundation that marks the American republican principle " Man is free " as the " perpetuum mobile " of our progress?

Prohibition has carried the torch of a most bitter and passionate fight not only into the centres of commerce and of international exchange, no even the otherwise peaceful villages and cities

of our country have been turned into regular battlefields. The entire nation has become like a house divided in itself. Even the churches, the places of worship dedicated to the cause of peace, have been made — to use the Saviour's words,—" dens of murder." No matter how harmoniously the church bells may ring and how sweetly tones of the gospel hymns may float through the silence of the Sabbath,— He, whose life was love and whose aim was peace, has had to flee before the hatred and passionate ire of his modern disciples.

There He stands before the church doors of the modern Pharisees and while covering his face with his hands, He asks: " Are these the teachers of my gospel, the gospel of love and joy, the gospel of self-directed morality and goodness? It is the teaching of hypocrisy that you have expounded amongst my brethren and the " sermon on the mount " you have shut up in the vaults of your edifices. I gave you the gospel of Christian liberty, of the noble deed, and you teach the gospel of a narrow, intolerant creed? In place of the freedom of the gospel and the beauty of the kingdom of God in the human heart you have set rules and regulations of a state prison, with all the consequences of secret drunkenness and secret crime.

I told you: " Man has not been made for the sake of the Sabbath, but the Sabbath has been made for man's sake! " You condemn everybody, even the laborer, who after a week of strenuous work and an hour spent in religious worship, seeks an afternoon's recreation for himself and his family, and perhaps commits the crime of enjoying a glass of beer.

I told you: Whatever enters the mouth of man does not make him impure, and I myself took part in the pleasures of happy people. I ate and drank with them, so they called me a winebibber, a debaucher. You want to prohibit your brethren, and if you can all mankind, eating and drinking that, which you don't eat or drink, O ye hypocrites, ye Pharisees! Is my teaching in any of its parts compulsory; have I ever taught you the use of brutal force? Have I ever prohibited the use of or condemned any gift of my Father? " So asks the brother of mankind, the founder of that universal religion which is so beautiful, where the spirit of its master takes possession of the hearts of men

instead of hatred and the antagonism of his misguided followers. If He should come back to-day and see how the places dedicated in his name for the worship of God are desecrated by the slurs and slings of irrational saints, *who in His name* trample on the very first principles of his religion and raise instead the banners of intolerance, He again would take the whip and drive out the whole brood.

The principal of ancient Christian churches, the Catholic, the Lutheran, the Episcopal, the Evangelical, have at all times worked for true temperance in all things, and have laid stress on self-restraint and education. To drunkenness and wilful desecration of the Sabbath they were always opposed, but they have tried to remedy those evils by means of Christian patience and helpfulness. Above all brotherly love and charity has always been their motto and their aim.

From within, not without, comes true reform and come all the forces aiding the elevation of our race which calls itself free and independent. Let us work accordingly, my friends, citizens of this country, to maintain the prestige of free citizenship that is essential to American honor, American manhood and American ideals. Beware, ye free men, when the day of this combat dawns upon your State, beware of casting your vote for the revival and resurrection of the well-known old blue-laws that prohibited even the mother from kissing her darling baby on the Sabbath-day. Rise and turn down the enemy facing you, and show that you can be loyal and law-abiding citizens without being chained like a dog to the prison walls of prohibition. And when you have succeeded in preserving your liberty as free citizens of a free country, show those others who tried to defame and disgrace you by their slanders of intolerance, that you can enjoy your privileges with moderation and rightly, that you know the difference between the use and misuse of God's gifts, between the open, well-regulated saloon and the dive, between the legitimate enjoyment of all that is good and beautiful in this world of God,— and of unlimited indulgence. In the fullest meaning of the word "*Stand up for the constitution of our country, common-sense, Christian principle, freedom and mutual toleration.*"

Sixth and Closing Topic of the Congress,

"THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE SPIRIT."

THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL

BY ISAAC H. CLOTHIER, OF PHILADELPHIA, CHAIRMAN

It is of course unnecessary for me to take the chair, except as a possible measure of relief to my friend, the president of the association, who has borne the burden and heat of the week, and of the previous weeks of preparation for these great gatherings.

To Henry W. Wilbur, president, to Rev. Charles W. Wendte, secretary, to the two efficient working chairmen of committees, Susan W. Janney and Rev. Charles E. St. John, the thanks of this association are eminently due.

With the long and fruitful program before us, there would seem to be no excuse for the chairman of the evening to consume any portion of the precious time of this last session.

There is, however, one point I have had in mind in connection with these noteworthy gatherings, which gatherings under the broad intention outlined should do much good, and which I would like to see yield an abundant harvest. But from the first, as an earnest well-wisher to the cause as I understood it, I have had some uneasiness concerning the situation.

As I am personally unknown to a considerable number of this body, who are not members of the Society of Friends, in whose place of worship we meet, I venture to preface my brief remarks with the statement that in the limited circle in which I move I have never been charged with undue conservatism, but rather with a decided leaning towards liberalism, and without denial on my part.

The uneasiness referred to has been based on the form of organization, which, it seems to me, tends largely to defeat the avowed object of this great association, and without which, as I conceive, it has no reason for existence in its present form. Of course di-

tinctively, as Liberals, as leaders of advanced religious and secular thought, you have a perfect right to be associated under any title for religious or philanthropic work, but I have understood that the object sought to be attained was the union on one platform of all religious denominations, similar to the World's Congress of Religions in Chicago in 1893, or the great meeting of last October in this house, when sixteen denominations, representing all the historic churches, met in fraternal relations and discussed William Penn's Contribution to Religious Liberty.

I therefore understand the purpose of the organization to be inclusive in its membership of all religious denominations, and exclusive of none. If this is still the purpose as outlined in the prospectus issued, which I do not understand as having been disavowed, the title of the association is singularly inapt, because, instead of including and inviting all religious sects to participation in the broad and beneficent work, it in effect excludes and repels all who are not in sympathy with the liberal and advanced thought of the day. The fact cannot be overlooked that a large proportion of the Church is composed of conscientious and most excellent people, though somewhat timid where theology is concerned, and who look upon the term "liberal" as meaning "radical," and they are not always wrong. The very large body of persons to which I refer are many of them serious minded and deeply religious in their natures, and to my mind are those especially meant to be reached by this great movement, the very persons who, more than any others, need to have the faith of the broad church brought home to them, though not in any proselyting sense, and whose participation would be most significant and useful to this great cause of the union of all the churches. I do not hesitate frankly to say that I believe the full object of the association as thus outlined is unattainable; but if that be so I would not have the responsibility rest on us, and it is an added reason for care, for caution, for well considered action, so that we may at least accomplish something and not utterly fail in the object sought.

As regards the title. To my mind there is a distinct difference between the term "Religious Liberals" and "Liberal Religion-

ists," but as I object to the former, I object also to the latter, though in less degree. The title I would select is

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF ALL RELIGIONS

I believe this title to be wholly unobjectionable from any point of view, and I respectfully submit it for the deliberate consideration of the concerned and thoughtful members of this body.

I fully recognize the high aims of the sincere and consecrated workers in the cause, and I mean to be the reverse of critical, as my sole object is helpfulness.

Please bear in mind that I am with you; I am on the liberal side; I train with that regiment. But holding sacredly my own religious views, I as sacredly respect the rights of others, and if I am to be a worker in this particular cause, it must not be under the narrow and exclusive banner of Evangelism, nor the opposing and also exclusive banner of Liberalism, nor under any other exclusive banner, but on the broad platform which will welcome all who believe in the "Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man," and which extends open arms to the whole membership of the Church Universal.

LIBERTY AND UNION IN RELIGION

REV. CHAS. G. AMES, D.D., OF BOSTON

Mr. Chairman, there may be justice in your criticism of the Congress as lacking in comprehensiveness; but please consider this gathering, not as a review of the Grand Army of Progress, but as one drill of an awkward squad, which yet represents in its miniature way the grandest aspirations of humanity, the desire of nations — the awakened and wide-spread passion for a religious commonwealth. Men want men. They are hungry for brotherhood. To sow the world with comradeship is a divine industry.

But every army which fights for liberty fights also for union. We would break every yoke of bondage that all men may be free to join hands. The music of broken chains is a rough prelude to the anthem of universal harmony.

And so in the name of the Lord we set up our banners; for this is primarily a spiritual movement. Our declared object is "to promote the religious life." And to do this "by united testimony for sincerity, freedom and progress in religion; by social service; and by a fellowship beyond the lines of sect and creed."

Liberty, union, religion! — we would not use these three great words; as they have been degraded by misuse and bad company. We aspire to be "a brotherhood of seekers after the highest truth and the highest life." We would feel after the foundations of reality, like the wise man who digs deep and builds on the rock. We give to religion the seat of honor, because under that name clear-seeing and deep-hearted men have gathered the most sacred and vital interests of mankind, which give value to all else.

Thus religion, is not separate from life, but identical with it — a pervading spirit, dominating all human affairs by divine authority, ruling by an inward law, guided by an inward light.

The constitution of man is the Maker's revelation, and is the supreme law of our life, anything in the books and the customs notwithstanding. For his own completeness, therefore, each man must live under the law of liberty. He must be unhindered by disturbance from within or pressure from without. But his constitution provides for social relations as one condition of personal completeness and welfare. Self-acquaintance makes us aware that we belong to a larger whole. Thus liberty and union are "one and inseparable," in religion as in the ideal state. The moral order makes room for every body and soul as heaven makes room for all the stars, yes, and for systems of stars. The free, normal life of each and the collective life of all will not be difficult when there is no more crowding.

We shall get on better when it is once understood that behind all differences reason and goodness mean the same thing to all men. As Dean Stanley says: "All we need is to become wiser and better." We need no other platform for liberty and union, or for religion itself. For do not all men who think, at all, believe in the Power which is everywhere at work "to make the bad good and the good better?"

These higher interests, like the light and air, are our common possession, about which there need be no quarrel, since there is enough for each and for all. And the more you have the richer I shall be.

This very simplicity lights our way through the perplexing problems of modern life. No liberty is real which breaks or ignores the social bond. No social order can satisfy which seeks for union at the expense of liberty. No religion can meet our real need or suit our nature which does not unite us in the "sweet reasonableness" of truth and love.

LIBERTY AND UNITY

REV. GEORGE H. FERRIS, D.D., PASTOR FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

Liberty and Unity are two values that are not easily adjusted. The problem of the one and the many, which lies at the basis of so much philosophical speculation, is manifest here also. In the preface to his little book on "Human Immortality," Professor James denies that his conception of a mental world behind the veil teaches Pantheism, and adds: "There might be many minds behind the scenes, as well as one." Someone has said that human thinking has never found a place for both God and man in the universe. I take it that we are just trying to find a place for both God and man in the church.

The average Baptist loves independence. Let me say that there is one Baptist who also loves unity. I saw two men once on an ocean steamer, one from northern Poland and the other from a little town in Sicily, sit down and hold a conversation in Latin. I admired the marvelous unity of the great hierarchy that enabled its priests to do that. For a moment the swarm of Protestant sects seemed to me to be the picture of weakness and shame. Then I began to hear something. I heard the thunder of Papal bulls against progress. I heard the crack of the lash that in the last century forced such broad-minded men as Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Father Hyacinthe into humiliating retractions, or open rupture. I heard the recent bulls against "Modernism," and the denunciations hurled against Father Tyrrel, Abbe Loisy, and

their like. Then, down across the ages, came the words of old Tertullian: "Schoolboys are proud of their new shoes, but the old Master beats their strutting vanity out of them." In the midst of such meditations the longing for unity vanished.

I felt it again. I was in the great cathedral in Seville. It was the hour of High Mass. The tones of the organ, as they crept through nave and transept, enchanted the soul. The breathless ascent of the mighty pillars, as they faded in Gothic arches above, filled me with aspiration. Alas for our Protestant sheds and shanties! I was ready to cry with Lowell:

"Can our religion cope with deeds like this?"

Suddenly the host was elevated. The verger came and touched me on the shoulder, commanding me to kneel. I almost did it. I could have done it, if only I could have forgotten. It was not possible to forget the gaunt creatures, who scratched the word "Resist" on the stone floor of the Tour de Constance. It was not possible to forget the wanderings through the valleys of Switzerland of the followers of the "Poor Man of Lyons." So I walked out.

Will someone please tell me what to do? No sooner do I feel comfortable and happy than I feel that touch on my shoulder. I love the orthodox churches. They are full of devotion, of loyalty, of earnestness, of missionary passion, of works of benevolence. There are times, however, when they insist that truth is best seen through an incense-cloud of dogma. They endeavor, often, to surround a Book with an artificial atmosphere of unworldly adoration, and send around their agents to tell us to get down, or get out. The alternative is not pleasant. It is noisy outside. Liberalism lacks repose. It jostles us, when we try to pray.

This is the problem of Liberty and Unity, as I see it. I do not like the average liberal. He laughs at me when I tell him that a church has no right to found itself on a dogma, whether of Trinity or Unity. He does not understand, when I say that we ought to have people in the church who believe in miracles, as well as people who do not. He looks at me with amazement, when I say that I love men, not spectacles; that I long for a spiritual fellowship, not for a faith that is analyzed; that I feel more at home with those who worship an ideal Christ, than with

those who are able to explain the man Jesus. And yet these great meetings have strengthened me in one conviction. When I take the hand of my friend, Rabbi Krauskopf, and see in his eyes the light of the same Spirit that I worship, I know that if we could get at the heart of any religion we would find the Spirit of all religion. I am therefore profoundly convinced that the genuinely liberal man will be one who believes, not less, but more than the orthodox.

REV. W. H. HAINER, IRVINGTON, N. J.

I deem it a great honor to be asked to be present to-night at this meeting as one of the body of Christian people known simply as Christians.

And I am indeed happy in the privilege of being present and participating even in a most humble manner in this closing session of your splendid Congress, which I sincerely trust will, because of the genuineness of the good fellowship here indulged go into history as one of the most inspiring and helpful sessions of this assembly.

I bring to you the kindly cordial fellowship and God speed of the Christian Church. While it is true, that as a church we do not endorse all the principles here represented by the various bodies, it is true that we stand for the heartiest coöperation in every movement that has for its aim the betterment of mankind, and it is clearly perceptible that this is the animating spirit of this Federation of Religious Liberals.

We delight in your fellowship as a company of man-loving and God-serving people, who without regard to creed have joined forces for the moral and social welfare of mankind. We believe in the Lord Jesus Christ as the divine and only begotten Son of God, and love and worship Him as the Head of the Church, and seek to honor and obey all His teachings, and we honor the words of Peter as in accord with the teachings of Jesus when he said in the Acts of the Apostles 10:34, 35: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him."

So we are constrained to regard with profoundest respect and coöperation every ambition that tends toward the elevation and

ennoblement of man, even though those ambitions do not conform in every detail with our prescribed methods.

We grant that individual interpretation of the Scriptures is the right and duty of every man, and therefore strongly refrain from every appearance of ecclesiastical domination.

As Dr. John Burns Weston, representing our body at the International Congress of Liberals in Boston, said at a meeting in King's Chapel: "Our body came into existence as a protest against ecclesiastical domination and in assertion of liberty of thought and speech." There is a sense in which I may feel as much at ease in this Federation as any other man representing an orthodox body, because of the broad, liberal fellowship which we delight to manifest and extend to all God's people seeking to promote the moral and religious welfare of the sons of earth.

With just what measure of the future Jane Borthwick's poetic prophecy reckoned, we may not determine, but from the splendid spirit of good will so manifest in this session we may venture to believe that in the not far distant future we may realize in some measure the fulfillment of the same.

Now is the time approaching,
By prophets long foretold,
When all shall meet together,
One Shepherd and one fold.

Now Jew and Gentile meeting
From many a distant shore,
Around one altar kneeling,
One common Lord adore.

Let all that now divides us,
Remove and pass away,
Like shadows in the morning
Before the blaze of day.

Let all that now unites us
More sweet and lasting prove,
A closer bond of union
In a blest bond of love.

HENRY MOTTET, D.D., RECTOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, NEW YORK CITY

I esteem it an honor to attend this closing meeting, speaking for and bearing greetings from the Church of the Holy Communion, New York. Founded by the Saintly Muhlenberg more than sixty years ago, he began then and there the realization of a dream which finds much of its fulfillment in this National Federation of Religious Liberals. In giving that church its unique name, he emphasized the fact that the Church was to be the Father's House for all of the Father's children, regardless of sect and color. It was to be an absolutely free Church for the holy communion or fellowship of all mankind. As God knows nothing of sect or denomination, so this Church should ever do the same. The result is that this Church, always open, with its frequent services on week days as well as on Sundays, is constantly in use; while at its Holy Table, prepared for the Master's guests never less than three times each week, the disciples of the Lord meet with Him and with one another, in total disregard of sect or denomination.

Let this Federation ever stand for and proclaim this kind of catholicity,— the catholicity which so inspiringly characterizes this present conference,— and a long step will have been taken, and a large contribution will have been made toward the ushering in of that yearned for day when there shall be "one flock and one shepherd."

I congratulate all who have had any share in the planning of this great Conference, and with them I praise God for this notable achievement.

PERCIVAL CHUBB, OF NEW YORK, LECTURER ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETY

On the basis of numbers, mine must be the smallest voice heard here to-night — the voice of the extreme left in the parliament of religion. Of us it cannot even be said,— to use the figure employed here to-night,— that we advance under the banner of the Lord. Some of us own no Lord. The fact that anyone should wish to bear aloft the banner that is inscribed with the simple device — Truth, Right and Love,— is enough for us. If there is

anything we would have inscribed on the other side of that banner, it might be that fine saying: "A Life is a Confession of Faith." We admit no other kind of ultimate confession: We ask for no other.

However, what I chiefly wish to say is how very gladly we, of the Ethical Societies, grasp the hand of fellowship which is extended to us here. We would eagerly embrace every opportunity that is offered — and it comes so seldom — to unite with others in that fellowship of the spirit which is to us the supreme and, indeed, the only form of religious fellowship.

For us, it is the only fellowship, I say; for we differ from most of you here as not having or desiring any fellowship in creed among ourselves. Ours is a fellowship in the spirit of truth, but not in any one system of truth; fellowship in love and duty, but not in any one way of justifying, of rationalizing these fruits of the spirit. For us they are self-authenticating, their own excuse for being. It is in no temper of controversy, but to remove a prevailing misunderstanding, that I venture to explain that this fundamental position is not the result of any light opinion of creeds and philosophies. On the contrary, we expect every one in our religious communion to attempt to build an ever-expanding creed. But because knowledge widens with the years and the centuries, and wisdom grows with living, we regard creeds and philosophies as developing continuously with the developing life of the individual and the race. And so, because fixity or finality in creed is impossible, or undesirable even, it is for us a form of intellectual impiety to commit one's self to a philosophy or belief, except in a provisional manner and with the full hope of outgrowing it.

In the spirit of such a fellowship, we would be united with others above all distinctions of sect and race and creed in a great brotherhood of the spirit; and would follow the leadership of Socrates and Buddha and Confucius, no less than that of Jesus and Paul and John; Aurelius and Emerson, as well as St. Francis and à Kempis; in short, of that great world-wide communion of saints and heroes, who are the cloud of witnesses to the eternal reality of truth and goodness.

In such spirit, we would unite with all those who would unite

with us in battling for the things which will lift us and the men of our generation above the crippling narrowness of their political creeds, purging them of what is partisan and selfish, and above the bitter sectarianism of our sociological creeds, our extremes of socialism and anarchism. Let us be as sturdily as we will socialists or anarchists; but let our fellowship of the spirit lift us out of the dark valley of sectarian zeal up to the hilltop of the widest human vision and sympathy.

In short, in this fellowship of the spirit we would work together with all of you for those things which we have failed to gain because we have not been magnanimous enough to work together. We would, for example, work for peace in these days of menacing war. How shameful it is that the voices of all of us — especially of those who are followers of the Prince of Peace — should not ring out in thunderous protest against the impious militarism that is laying waste life and treasure and sowing the dragon teeth of hate among the nations! We would work together with all against the secular-mindedness and vulgar materialism of the age; — the lack of reverence and of modesty; against the fanaticism of sport,— the epidemic of card-playing; against the reckless extravagance, the spirit of indulgence and of luxury which seems to be getting more and more rampant in our great cities. Finally, we would be united with you all in promoting that practical faith in the power of the spirit itself,— the power of ideas and the power of character, which, despite all our differences, means very much the same thing to us all.

DR. JESSE H. HOLMES, SWARTHMORE COLLEGE, PENN.

I have felt this evening for the first time a slight regret that the Society of Friends should have adopted the name which it bears, because it seems to me that the name "Society of Friends" would be so eminently appropriate for this federation. The tie that should bind this company together is surely that of friendship rather than any community of belief or any formal manner of conducting religious worship.

With this fact in mind I am going to take it on myself, under the system of anarchy which characterizes the government of the Friends, to invite this whole company into immediate membership,

and I shall from this time on count you all as members of a Society of Friends. At the same time I do not doubt that others represented here will gladly receive us all into their church relationship as well, and I do not question that we can equally well accept their invitations. We can all be Baptists after the baptism of the spirit felt in the address of the first speaker; we can all be Christians; we can all be disciples; we alike recognize the unity of God and of humanity, and of the universal hope for man that there is in the universal fatherhood of God. Remembering also what the sacred writings of the Hebrew people have been to the Western world, remembering the burning words of their prophets, and that the great prophet from whom we take the name of Christian was himself a Jew, who is there among us who will not gladly feel himself of the congregation of the Synagogue?

This federation has been advised by one of the great leaders of liberal thought not to separate without actually having done something. There is a phrase of the Society of Friends which I have not often used, and which has usually aroused in me feelings of repugnance and opposition. I refer to the phrase "creaturely activity." The request that this federation shall "do something" has given that term a meaning which I am inclined to approve. I shall be satisfied if it cannot be said of this federation that it is responsible for "creaturely activity." The coming together of this federation is in itself "doing something." The meetings marked with harmony and sympathy are of themselves an accomplishment in the direction of the unity of mankind. They are a protest against that false religion which sets men apart in mutually repellant groups, each asserting: "I am holier than thou." The federation recognizes the possibility and the value of a diversity which eventuates in a more perfect oneness. While these meetings have not been, and in my judgment should not be, executive sessions where external things should be accomplished, it is to do something and to do much that a thousand and more shall go from this place strengthened and uplifted in their life work.—more truly dedicated to the service of man. The teacher will go to his desk with a truer and deeper consecration; the merchant will serve his customer as one who clothes the naked; the farmer will

labor to feed the hungry, and all will feel more deeply the solidarity of the human brotherhood.

There is only one barrier that stands between us and that ideal humanity toward which we strive, and it is not mountain ranges, uncharted deserts, or trackless seas that divide us from that ideal. Like the Kingdom of Heaven the barrier which separates us from it is within us, and any gathering which tends to throw down that barrier or to remove any part of it has done something, and something that will stand as a genuine contribution to the forward movement of mankind.

REV. CARL A. VOSS, D.D., GERMAN EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCH, PITTSBURG, PA.

The search for light and truth has ofttimes brought disunion and distress upon untold numbers. That the rays of light have a common source but in their effulgence appear to men in varied hues, and that of the one truth the human mind because of its limitations can encompass no more than a few phases, has rarely been fully appreciated. It remained for our enlightened day to witness conferences such as this, dedicated not to the glorification of one ray of light nor to the exaltation of one phase of truth but to a united, sympathetic, tolerant search for light and truth.

To you laboring for this sublime cause I bring the greetings of those engaged in a similar activity. For almost a century the German Evangelical Protestant, in the old Fatherland as well as upon American soil, has sought to unite the spiritual energies of those of Lutheran and Reformed persuasion in a common worship of God, a common service of humanity and a united search for more light and fuller truth. Protesting in the spirit of the reformers against all attempts at compulsion in matters of faith and conscience, the true Evangelical Protestant granted unto others the same liberty of thought that he demanded for himself. Appreciating the full import of your endeavors, he welcomes the support and kindly good-will of those who either in the spirit of their fathers have continued the work of liberating the hearts of their fellowmen, or in the spirit of awakened freedom have cast off the shackles and bonds of superstition and ignorance and joined

the ranks of those who know no higher law than in the spirit of God to work for the true uplift of humanity.

We rejoice in the consummation of this federation. We offer our good wishes, pledge our support and invoke God's blessing upon your labors, for emblazoned upon your banner we read the words, dear to us: "Virtue, Truth, Liberty." To those who have preceded us on the upward march to the mount of glory we say: "God speed!" To those who accompany us we give a helping hand. For those whose minds and hearts are still in bondage we pray that the day may speedily come when light and truth will become their portion, and thus make them conscious sharers in the imperishable heritage of the children of God.

RABBI J. KRAUSKOPF, D.D., TEMPLE KENESETH ISRAEL, PHILADELPHIA

The First Congress of Religious Liberals concludes to-night. But only its sessions. The spirit to which it has given rise will continue active, will root deeper and spread wider that higher conception of religion that sees harmony amidst diversity and creed in deed, that sees in every man a brother, a child of the same God, an heir of the same destiny.

One who has thoughtfully followed the views that have been expressed, and noted the deep impression they have made, cannot but believe that the day is fast approaching when the holding of different theological opinions will no longer constitute a bar to fellowship in religious and social work, when people professing religion will recognize that all creeds are but groping in the dark toward the light, all theologies but speculations concerning the unknowable, all modes of worship but yearnings of the human soul for communion with the All-Soul, and all forms but rungs on the ladder of faith, on which the soul seeks to mount.

We may have guesses at truth, we may have occasional glimpses, even partial revelations, of it, but the full vision of it we never have had, and probably never shall. The answer given to Moses upon his asking to see the face of God: "No man living shall see the face of God," is the answer respecting truth. Its full vision would probably be as fatal to the human mind in its present state of finiteness, as full vision of the sun is fatal to the

human eye. We have probably as much of the truth as we are fit for, and as we need for walking aright the way of life. One may have one fragment of it, another another fragment; one may divine something of the *whence;* another something of the *whither;* no one can say or dare say, that his creed solves the mystery of life or the mystery of death, that it explains creation, or analyzes the human soul.

Truth being, therefore, by reason of our finiteness, a part of all our creeds, I can read over the entrance of every church, the inscription that graced an ancient Temple "*Introite, nam et hic dii sunt*" "Enter, for here too, are the Gods," excepting that for the word *Gods* I place the word *Truth.*

It is in our earnest search for the truth wherein may lie our deserving more of it. Ours therefore is the duty earnestly to search for it, and freely to share with others whatever we find; as to the revelations of it, that is in the wisdom of God. "Were God to offer me the choice," said Lessing, "between the whole truth and the love of the search for it, with the understanding that I shall never find it, I would choose the latter, knowing that Truth is for God alone."

Little though the truth may be which our search has brought to light, it is enough to teach us that in all essential points of religion no difference obtains between us. All of us believe alike in a Supreme Being, who is perfect, and who desires man to be perfect. Over all our creeds stand graven the opening words of Leviticus XIX: "Ye shall be holy, for holy am I, the Lord, your God." All of us believe alike in the Moral Law. No liberal doubts that in abiding by the Moral Law, we shall all alike be acceptable unto God, whether Gentile or whether Jew, whether Catholic or Protestant, whether Trinitarian or Unitarian.

If differing theologies do not permit us to worship together, thanks be to God that the same Moral Law enables us to labor together in the spread of Peace on Earth and Good Will among men. Seething about us is a world of corruption. Might is struggling with right. Capital and Labor stand arrayed against each other. Shocking extravagance looks unpityingly upon appalling want. Is there no work to do? Are our forces so strong that we can afford to say: "Because our conceptions of God or of

the hereafter differ, therefore we cannot work in common for the good of man? "

Church history tells us of an abbey in Brittany, composed of two convents, one for nuns, the other for monks. The two sexes were never permitted to see each other. Even when at common service in the same chapel, a partition wall eight feet high separated them. But, notwithstanding partition walls, when they sang their hymns their voices blended beautifully together. Significantly the Latin chronicler adds: "*Murus Corpora non voces disjungit,*" "the wall separated their bodies but not their voices."

So, though our respective churches separate our bodies when at service, outside the church our minds and hearts and hands may blend beautifully together in the furtherance of God's work on earth.

BY REV. LUTHER DEYOE, D.D., LUTHERAN

I am glad to give my endorsement to the great movement represented by the convention. A man who said, "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise; so help me God," had much to do with the founding of the church to which it is my pleasure to belong.

Every man should have a sense of liberty in his religious life. He should feel free to follow what he considers his honest, intelligent conclusions. The best condition will come when each man knows that he will not be persecuted because of what he feels he must believe religiously.

Such liberty may lead to many divisions. There is one thing infinitely worse in this particular and that is oppression. Oppression because of religious convictions has brought some of the most diabolical of experiences that the world has ever seen. Liberty has finally brought love. Oppression has brought the saddest of hatred, and God is not hatred. God never directed one man to make another physically uncomfortable because the two differed from each other spiritually. If from to-day there would be no physical violence because of differences in religious belief the world would have a most heavy burden lifted from it. If Christian had no more distress to fear from Mohammedan; if Protestant could be sure of no more persecution from Romanist; if the long-suffering Jew could only know that from

to-day he would be safe from the outrages of those who disobey Jesus while they profess to love Him, what a happy world this would be for thousands who stand in dread of almost any cruelty! In religion at least, men should have every encouragement to be honest. Any one has made an attainment worth while if he is able to listen without a spirit of resentment to the representative of the other religious party. I heartily approve of this organization because that is the spirit it is set to promote. The best religious work will be done when men will investigate religious questions not for the purpose of establishing their side, but for the purpose of finding more light. May this Federation hasten the coming of that better day.

REV. H. K. HEEBNER, PASTOR FIRST SCHWENKFELDIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, WROTE:

I am unavoidably prevented from attending the closing session of the Congress to-morrow evening and from responding briefly to my name as indicated upon the program. I attended the sessions of to-day and was greatly profited and pleased by the addresses, prophecies of the civilization of Heaven in the earth.

Truly the dawn of the better day of liberty and fraternity is already upon the hills and in due time the sun will be up. In the deliberations of this auspicious Congress we have a beautiful commentary of Tennyson's dictum:

> "God fulfills Himself in many ways
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

and that other significantly appropriate paragraph from John Ruskin:

"Whenever we allow our minds to dwell upon the points (in *religion* or otherwise) in which we *differ* from other people we are wrong and in the devil's power. . . . This is the essence of the Pharisee's thanksgiving, 'Lord, I thank thee that I am not as other men.' At every moment of our lives we should be trying to find out, not in what we differ but in what we can *agree* with them, and whenever we can *agree* as to anything that should be done kind or good, then *do* it; push at it together. But when the best of men stop pushing and begin *talking,* they mistake pugnacity for piety and it's all over."

REV. JOHN CLARENCE LEE, D.D., PASTOR OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH OF THE RESTORATION, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Amid the great variety of opinions and methods of expression that we have heard during this Congress, one clearly dominant note has appeared, namely, that religion should draw men together and not drive them apart. Quite otherwise was it in the days of enforced uniformity of belief, the days of inquisition and martyrdom. Quite otherwise is it even to-day, in parts of the Turkish empire, where a sudden outburst of fanatical hatred has glutted itself with the blood of thousands of Christian victims. When such horrors can occur in the twentieth century, as the result of the survival of the ancient idea that those who do not profess a certain religion are hateful to God and should be destroyed by men, it is indeed time that those in more enlightened lands should come together in the fellowship of the spirit and the bond of peace.

A Universalist has every reason to desire such fellowship. Our fathers in the faith were generally excommunicated. When John Murray first came to Philadelphia, his soul aflame with the vision of a race entirely saved, every church door was shut and barred against him. There was no "open pulpit" then. When Elhanan Winchester saw the light of a larger hope, and proclaimed it, he had to go forth from the church of which he was the pastor, and he went forth, not knowing whither he went. It is interesting to recall that for him was opened the hall of the University of Pennsylvania, which, by the wisdom and breadth of Benjamin Franklin, had been reserved for preachers of every sect and creed.

In those days it was deemed heretical to say that God is Love, that he is the universal Father, that every human being is the child of God, that punishment is remedial and therefore can not be endless, that moral discipline and spiritual progress will continue in the coming life, that good will triumph over evil and that all souls will attain the full-orbed measure of the perfect man. To say these things, as our fathers said them, was to invite social ostracism and ecclesiastical condemnation. Those who were excluded from fellowship for such opinions had, however, the consolation of their faith, that, in the final harmony of all souls with

God, they should find a glorious fellowship, from which, at last, no lover of truth should be debarred.

It is good, therefore, in these halcyon days, to experience here this earthly image of the heavenly fellowship.

We are all of us, I take it, more or less in the position of the man who waited after the service and thanked the preacher for his beautiful sermon on the recognition of friends in heaven. "And now," said he, "I wish you would preach a sermon on the recognition of friends on earth; for I've been coming to this church for the last three years, and no one has ever recognized me yet."

The manifestation of friendliness, of sympathy, of brotherhood, of mutual respect, is one of the most certain proofs of the genuine experience of religion. "Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God; and everyone that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God."

The Universalist has a definite mission, to which he should render the loyal service of a consecrated soul. He has staked his claim, both in name and faith, to a large section. But he holds his title, not as a monopolist or land-grabber, but as a pioneer, to open up, to all the race, for gradual settlement, the unoccupied lands of Paradise.

But what is the new spirit, that has brought us all together in this Federation? Why is it that we are so ready and willing, at last, to be liberal in religion? We have been working and seeking, each in his own way, and, somehow, we have found a common truth. A great light has streamed into our minds. And, as it appears to me, the unifying principle that makes fellowship not only a possibility but an encouragement and a joy, is the recognition that religion is a living revelation of a living God in the living soul of man. When we have come to feel, with Malachi, Paul, Fox, Penn, Lucretia Mott, Martineau, Emerson, Fechner and other seers, that God is not far from every one of us, that He has never left himself without a witness, and that every soul, in the degree of its openness and sincerity, may be the recipient of a divinely given truth, why should we not hold converse together?

This old conviction, wide-spread in this new day, supplies a

bond of mutual interest stronger than any creed. The minds of men may, indeed, differ much in their interpretation of the message, as their limitations and imperfections cloud the view. As Shelley said:

> "Life, like a dome of many-colored glass,
> Stains the white radiance of eternity."

Yet all these diverse color-tones, these seemingly-various beams of human understanding, when brought together and once more blended, shall give to us the seven-fold, perfect light of the vision of eternal truth.

REV. WILLIAM H. FISH, PASTOR UNITARIAN CHURCH, MEADVILLE, PA.

It is a great pleasure and privilege — a peculiar pleasure and privilege — to Unitarians to be present at these meetings. The kind of fellowship which this Federation represents is what we have been striving for for many years. Long ago when our central organization was formed it took for its name "The National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches." The hope was then cherished that churches in general sympathy with our aims, but not caring to be called Unitarian, would join us. Unfortunately that hope has not been realized in any large measure, probably because our real purpose has not been clearly understood. But if the mountain will not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain. If other churches will not come to the Unitarians, we Unitarians will go, if assured of a welcome, to other churches; and not alone to churches and similar organizations which bear the Christian name. There is a vast difference between names and the things which they are supposed to represent. The same thing may be given half a dozen different names by as many different persons. We care for the thing rather than the name. In the constitution of our National Conference we declare that we accept the religion of Jesus, holding in accordance with his teaching that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man. To all who are animated by the spirit implied in those words, by whatever name they may call themselves, we hold out our right hands not in toleration, but in cor-

dial and fraternal fellowship. Therefore we are here; therefore we rejoice in the founding of this Federation; therefore we bid it a hearty God-speed! May it live long and prosper.

CLOSING REMARKS BY HENRY W. WILBUR, PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS

Surely no man here can be more glad for this day than he who now addresses you. Representing a religious body which has tabooed proselyting, he has seen to-night the representative of his household of faith attempt to gather into the Society of Friends in wholesale fashion this splendid company of men and women, in number half as many as were converted on the apostolic day of Pentecost. I shall surely not haul in the latch-string which my friend has hung out. While I wish you might all accept his invitation, I fear you will not. But be that as it may, fences are neither so high nor so close as they were aforetime, and in spite of fences we be brethren.

As we near the moment of parting, I wish to express my deepest gratitude for the privilege of presiding over the sessions of this Congress. The days past, and their experiences, have greatly inspired me, and imparted more hope and courage for the battle of life that lies before us.

What is to be the outcome of these days of communion? That will depend upon the way we apply the impulses received here. Let me charge you to go into the world and become yeast, centers of leaven, which will make the unmoved measures of meal full of life, and freighted with the thirst for righteousness. Under the impulse of the spirit which has come to us here, the prejudice of ignorance should disappear, and race and sect hatred give way to the sense of brotherhood, bearing fruit in a broader sympathy and a wider helpfulness.

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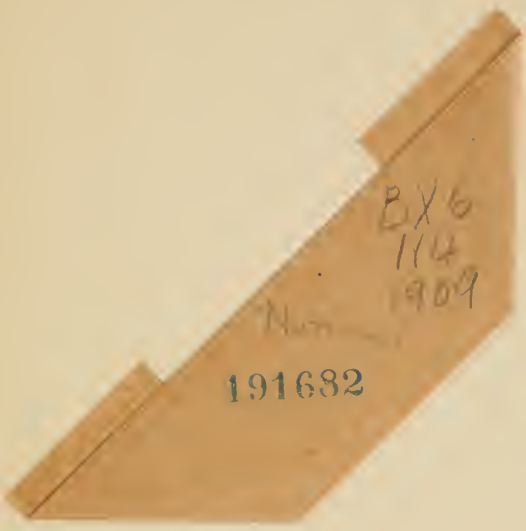
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